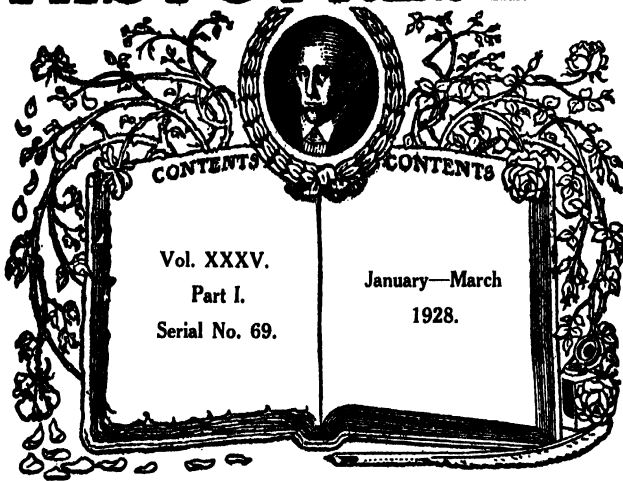




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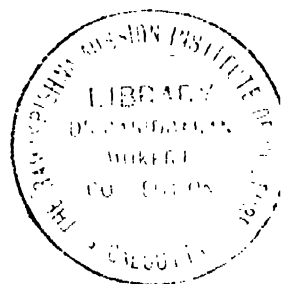
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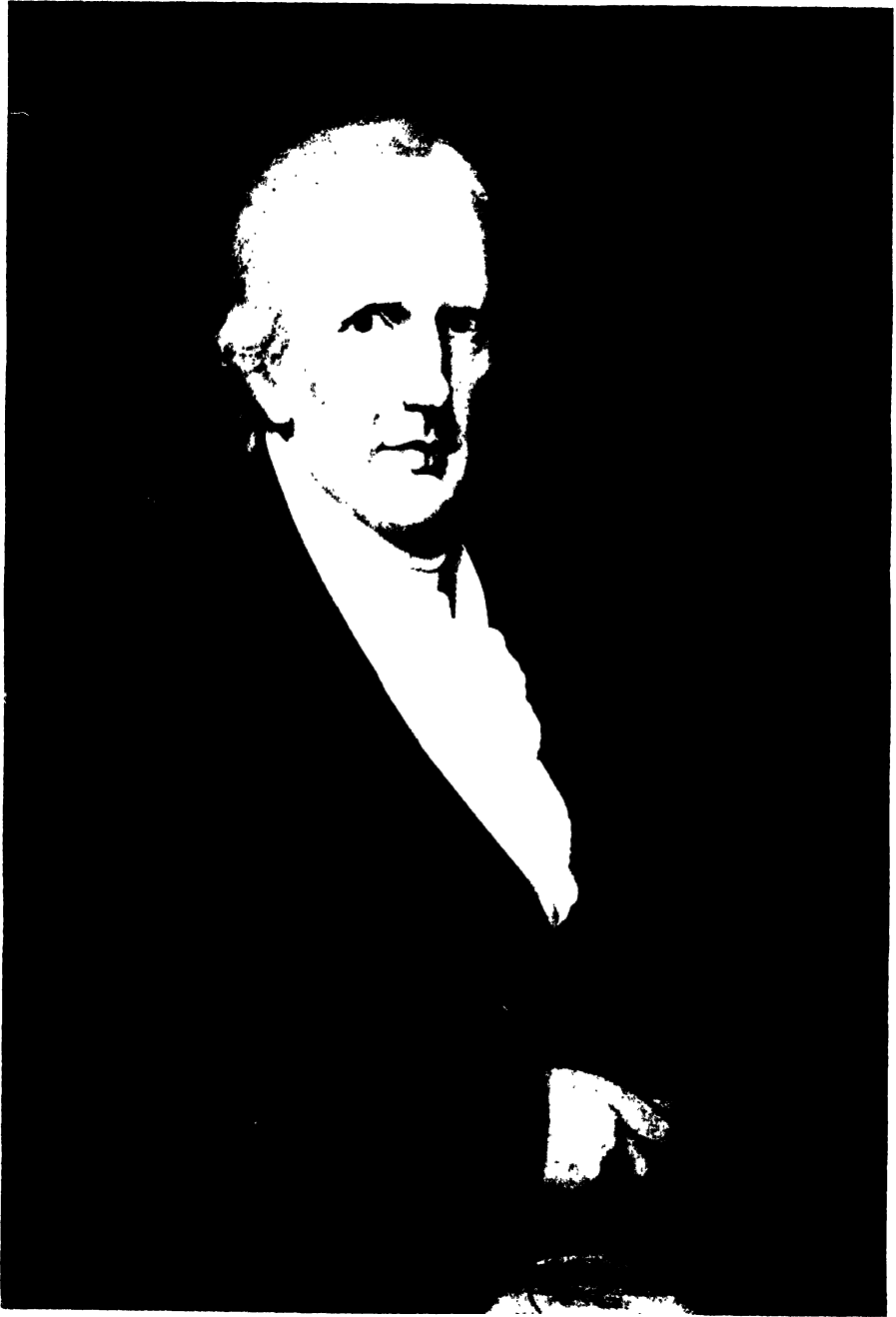
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ROBERT HOME.
By A. GREGORY.
From the Portrait in the collection of
the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Robert Home.

A LONG flat tomb in the Cawnpore cutcherry cemetery, close to the entrance-gate on the left hand side, bears the following inscription on an oval black slab: "Robert Home, died September 12th, 1834, aged 82 years." It covers the grave of the famous portrait painter (1). Few artists are so lavishly represented in India by their works. No less than twenty-five of his pictures can be seen in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Park Street: and there are portraits by him in the Viceregal Lodges at Delhi and Simla, or Belvedere and Government House, Calcutta, in the Banqueting Hall at Madras, in the Calcutta Town Hall, at the Calcutta High Court and at the Victoria Memorial Hall. Nevertheless, a complete account of his long career in India has not yet been written. There are inaccuracies as well as gaps in the notices in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and *Redgrave's Dictionary of British Artists*. The sketch of Home in that *olla podrida* of miscellaneous information which goes by the name of "The Good old Days of Hon'ble Company" is likewise misleading in many particulars and is incomplete. The author, W. H. Carey, was a grandson of Dr. William Carey of Serampore fame and was proprietor and editor of the *Simla Argus* in 1882, when the book was first published (2). His statements have been largely quoted (3), but, as we shall have occasion to show, they require both examination and revision.

Robert Home was the son of Robert Byrne Home, of Green Law Castle, Berwickshire, who is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1821 (4) as "an eminent surgeon in the Army, and latterly of the Savoy." His mother, Mary Hutchinson, was the daughter of Colonel Charles Hutchinson, Governor of St. Helena: and he was thus the nephew of Sir Eyre Coote, who married Susanna Hutchinson (another daughter) at St. Helena on July 8, 1763. He had another uncle, George Hutchinson, who commanded an East India-man. In the course of some reminiscences of Coote which were contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1794 by J. Henn (5), it is recorded that

(1) There is no mention of it in Mr. E. A. H. Blunt's "Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces."

(2) The book was reprinted in 1907 by Messrs. R. Cambray & Co. of Calcutta.

(3) See Dr. C. R. Wilson's descriptive catalogue of the paintings in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta 1897) and an article on "European Artists at the Court of Lucknow" in the *Pioneer* of March 29, 1919.

(4) Obituary of Mrs. Annie Hunter.

(5) Henn informs "Mr. Urban" that he had the honour of a place at Sir Eyre Coote's table during the voyage in the *Stafford*, and that he "felt Bengal (half alive) in December 1779." Chidley Coote, a nephew of Sir Eyre Coote, was appointed to be an assistant surgeon on the Bengal establishment in 1795, and died in Calcutta on December 5, 1807, at the age of forty-eight.

the General "embarked at Portsmouth the latter end of May 1778 accompanied by his amiable lady and suite, on board the *Stafford* Indiaman commanded by the brother of his lady, Captain Hutchinson, and son of the late Governor of St. Helena, the last Indiaman which sailed that spring from England and had been detained for the important service of conveying Sir Fyre to India in order to commence hostilities against the French settlement immediately on his arrival " (6).

As Home was eighty-two at the time of his death (7) in 1834, he must have been born in 1752. He was therefore four years older than his brother, Sir Everard Home (1756-1832), Serjeant Surgeon to the King and first president of the Royal College of Surgeons who was created a baronet in 1813 (8) and who committed the incredible blunder of destroying the manuscripts of his brother-in-law James Hunter (1728-1793), the great anatomist, after making use of them. Hunter had married in 1771 Annie Home who died in January 7, 1821, in her seventy-ninth year. Their daughter Agnes became the wife in 1794 of General Sir James Campbell of Invermill (1765-1819), who is buried in Westminster Abbey (9). Robert Home had another brother, William, who obtained a cadetship on the Bombay Establishment in 1776 and retired with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1802. There were also two more sisters: of whom one, Mary, married in 1770 Robert Mylne (1734-1811), Surveyor to St. Paul's Cathedral and builder of Blackfriars Bridge, which was completed in 1768 and taken down in 1868 (10). The other sister died unmarried.

Home's early training as an artist was gained under Angelica Kauffmann who shares with Mary Moser the distinction of being the only two women to be elected Royal Academicians. He also studied for a time in Rome and exhibited his first picture at the Royal Academy in 1770. In 1778 he took up his residence in Dublin, where "John the son of Robert Home and Susannah Peterson his wife" was born in Great Britain Street on September 16, 1787. He exhibited twenty-two portraits at Dublin in 1780: and in

(6) The *Stafford* arrived at Madeira on June 9 and left on June 18: reached Table Bay on September 8 and resumed her voyage on October 1. She anchored in Madras roads on December 28 and proceeded to Bengal on March 13, 1799, arriving off Kedgerree on March 23. On August 29 she was "lost in the Bengal river." Hutchinson then took the Company's ship *Britannia* on her maiden voyage, sailing from Bombay on September 13, 1780, and arriving in the Downs on October 21, 1781.

(7) Home's age is given as eighty in the register of burials preserved at the India Office. The inscription on his tomb, which was copied for me by Mr. J. J. Cotton in December, 1926, makes him two years older.

(8) He was succeeded by his son, James Everard, who was a captain in the Royal Navy. The title became extinct at his death in 1854.

(9) Campbell was the first British Commissioner in the Ionian Islands. He received a baronetcy in 1818 and, dying without issue, was succeeded in his estates (which he had inherited from his uncle Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of Madras from 1786 to 1789) by his brother Duncan Campbell (1771-1840), who went out to Bengal as a writer in 1790 and became Magistrate of Beerbhoom and subsequently Opium Agent at Patna.

(10) Mylne was buried, in accordance with his desire, in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, close to the grave of Sir Christopher Wren.

1781 sent to the Royal Academy the "portrait of an artist" (which may have been himself) and an allegorical picture "Zadig discovering Astarte," which was afterwards engraved by F. Haward, in 1789 he returned to London, where his second son Richard was born on March 17, and baptized at St. James's, Westminster, on April 25, of that year.

He appears to have arrived at Madras in 1790. William Hickey met him there during a visit which he paid in January, 1791. This is our first glimpse of him in India, and it is not an edifying one. Hickey was staying with Hugh Macaulay Boyd,—the master attendant an accentric individual who imagined himself to be Junius—and he relates how he came home one night and peeping into the dining room, was rewarded with the spectacle of "Mr. Home the painter" and some half dozen others "so beastly drunk that not one of them could have stood alone." They were "dancing or rather staggering round the table and screeching out part of a song."

Fortunately, there are more enduring associations of Home with Madras. The portrait of Lord Cornwallis, which hangs in the Banqueting Hall, was painted by him in 1792 either at Seringapatam or at Madras. He accompanied the army in the first campaign against Tippoo, and in 1794 published a series of twenty-nine "select views in Mysore, the country of Tippoo Sultan, with historical descriptions, maps and plans" (11). A second edition appeared in 1808: and meanwhile he brought out in 1796 six large coloured "views of Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo Sultan, with descriptions." The half length of Cornwallis which is in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and was presented by his sons in 1834, was painted no doubt at the same period.

Another portrait in the Banqueting Hall which may safely be attributed to him, is that of General William Medows, Governor of Madras from 1790 to 1792, who acted as second in command to Cornwallis. The *Madras Courier* of June 7, 1792 (quoted in the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 28, 1792) records that a meeting of the inhabitants of the settlement of Madras was held at the Town Hall in Fort Saint George on May 21, under the presidency of Mr. David Haliburton:

The Meeting...recollecting that there is at this time a very eminent Portrait Painter here: it is resolved that the chairman of the committee shall request Lord Cornwallis to sit for his Picture to be put up in the Town Hall...Resolved also that General Medows be requested to sit for his Picture to be put up with that of His Lordship in the Town Hall.

At a later meeting on July 25 in the same year (*Calcutta Gazette Supplement*, August 23, 1792) the committee were requested to take the best steps in their power to have the picture of General Medows completed. Medows handed over charge of the office of Governor to Sir Charles Oakeley on August 1, and the finishing touches were probably, therefore, put to the

(11) A set of the engraving (first edition) is in the Library of the Madras Literary Society.

portrait after his departure. There is a marked similarity in style between it and that of Cornwallis: and as regards the latter there can be no question that Home was the painter. His signature and the date 1792 can be traced in the body of the picture (12).

Yet another picture which he must have painted in Madras at this time is the portrait of the two Daniells—Thomas and William—which was presented in later years by Home's sons to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. We know from the letter-press to the second series of *Oriental Scenery* (published in London in August 1797) that the Daniells proceeded south to Trichinopoly in June 1792, were in Madura in July and in Tanjore in September of that year, and returned to Madras in 1793. On January 25, 1793, Thomas Daniell applied to the Governor and Council for permission to send home by the *Ponsborne* (13) a box of sketches made by him and his nephew "on a tour from this place [Madras] to Cape Comorin."

It is announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 18, 1792, that "Mr. Home, whose painting of Lord Cornwallis and his views in the Mysore country have excited much deserved attention is expected in Calcutta by the first Indiaman from Madras:" but there is no record of his arrival in a subsequent issue. Dr. C. R. Wilson, in the biographical notice which forms part of his descriptive catalogue of paintings in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta: 1897: p. 22) says:

Towards the end of 1792, Home arrived in Calcutta and at once secured a large share of patronage. He settled however, in the first instance at Lucknow attracted thither by the liberality of Asaf-ud-daula who appointed him his historical and portrait painter. Here Home made a great deal of money in a short time. But the nawab was capricious, and is said to have required his painter to expunge offending courtiers even after the sketch had been made. On this account Home is said to have removed to Cawnpore.

These statements are based upon those of Carey (14). But Home was clearly still in Madras in October 1793: for his name figures prominently in an account of an entertainment given in honour of Lord Cornwallis at the Public Rooms in Madras (15). "Three most elegant and characteristic figures in transparent painting" were exhibited at the upper end of the room. One of them represented India in the form of a beautiful young man in a sitting posture. In the central compartment was a figure of Fame

(12) The portraits of Cornwallis and Medows are reproduced in Colonel H. D. Love's Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures at Government House, Madras.

(13) This Indiaman was named after Ponsborne Park, in Hertfordshire, the country seat of Laurence Sullivan, a well-known Chairman of the Court of Directors.

(14) *Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company*: Vol. II, p. 197 (edition of 1907).

(15) *Madras Hircarrah* of October 8, 1793; quoted in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 31, 1793. Cornwallis was not present at the entertainment. He embarked from Calcutta for Europe on board the *Swallow* packet (Capt. Curtis) on the morning of October 10, 1793.

"taking her course from the Indian hemisphere and bearing the name of Cornwallis on a scroll." On the other side was Britannia with her lion. "Too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Home whose excellent taste and powerful pencil produced such a well selected and well executed design so rapidly." Those, we are assured, "who were best acquainted with the works of art were the most surprised to find that a few days only had been employed on what from its merit and variety would have justified as many weeks."

It is not improbable, however, that Home may have been at Lucknow between the end of 1793 and May, 1795. In the *Madras Courier* of May 23, 1795, the public of that settlement are congratulated upon the appearance in the Exchange, now the officers' mess in Fort Saint George, of the "beautiful painting of Sir Eyre Coote," and the receipt is also announced of the engravings from views taken in the Mysore country by "Mr. Home, the author of the Painting mentioned above." Home was, no doubt, acquainted with the features of his uncle: but Coote died at Madras in 1783 while he was living in Dublin. The picture must be a copy of some original: and we know that in 1795 there was a portrait of Coote by Nathaniel Dance, R.A., at Lucknow in the possession of General Claud Martin (16). If so, Home may have painted his picture at Lucknow. In any case, he went back to Madras with it: for the *Madras Courier* of May 30, 1795, informs us that "Mr. Home embarked in the *Anna*, Captain Gilmore, on Tuesday last for Calcutta where he will doubtless meet with the encouragement which his character as a man and his genius as an artist so well deserves." The *Anna*, sailed on May 28, and arrived in the Hooghly on June 4. The Daniells remained in Madras, trying to sell "six original paintings of tygers, bears and buffaloes" and a few pictures by the elder "said to be some of his best pieces."

On May 22, 1795, a few days before his departure for Calcutta, Home issued "a card" which is published in the *Madras Courier* of June 6;

Mr. Home takes this opportunity of informing the public that he has completely finished the picture of Sir Eyre Coote and that it is now hung up in the Exchange Room. He therefore begs leave to request that such Gentlemen as have not yet discharged the amount of their subscription, or those who may be disposed to add to the list already subscribed, will take the earliest opportunity of paying their respective sums into the House of Messrs. Tulloh Jervis and Brodie's Agency at Madras.

This is the picture of which Colonel Mark Wilks writes in his "Historical Sketches of the South of India" (3 vols. 1810-1817): Coote's portrait is

(16) Cf. the announcement in the *Madras Courier* of January 7, 1795, of the arrival at Madras of "whole length mezzotint engravings by Mr. Henry Hudson at Calcutta of the Marquess Cornwallis and Warren Hastings, Esq." The concluding words of the announcement are as follows: "Mr. Hudson is about to proceed to Lucknow to make his engraving of Sir Eyre Coote from an original picture by Dance, reckoned a remarkable likeness in the possession of Col. Martin." This engraving seems never to have been undertaken. Hudson died at Chinsurah on July 26, 1795.

hung up in the Exchange at Madras: and no sepoy who has served under him ever enters the room without making his obeisance to Coote Behauder." But it no longer exists. Mrs. Fay mentions that when she visited Madras in 1796, she saw it in the Exchange together with the portraits of Cornwallis and Medows. By 1812, however, it had been so badly damaged by the sea-air that it was impossible to restore it. Thomas Hickey, who was engaged for the purpose, reported that it "has been reduced to such a desperate condition as to leave but traits so faint, so shattered, and imperfect for my guidance as to render inevitable the painting of the picture entirely anew upon the canvas." Repainted it accordingly was: and the picture which is now in the Banqueting Hall is the work of Hickey who obtained from Calcutta the loan of a portrait of Coote which belonged to Mr. George Cruttenden and was "said to have been painted by Zoffani" (17). From this he made a study of the head, reproducing the figures of an Indian orderly and an Indian servant fixing Coote's spurs, which were "discernible through the fragments of the picture ruined at the Exchange." A charger and a syce are also dimly seen in the background, as in the original (18).

Our next glimpse of Home is of a domestic character. The *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, September 17, 1795, announces the marriage "on Sunday evening last at the house of A. Colvin Esq. by the Rev. Mr. Blanshard" of "Robert Home Esq. to Miss A. Paterson." From a copy of the register preserved at the India Office we learn that the christian names of the bride were Anna Alicia. The death of this lady has not been traced in the registers. But there is an entry of the marriage at Calcutta, on February 3, 1806, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, of John Walker of the Hon'ble Company's Civil Service and Ann Home, spinster both of Calcutta. This was the daughter of the painter who signs the register with William Butterworth Bayley (who officiated as Governor-General from March 13 to July 4, 1828, during the interval between the departure of Lord Amherst and the arrival of Lord William Bentinck), J. M. Rees, a young writer of 1799, and Alexander Colvin, junior. According to Ramchunder Doss's "Record of the Services of Bengal Civilians," Walker came out in 1800, and died at Calcutta on October 18, 1808, when Deputy Register of the Sudder Dewany and Nizamut Adawlut (19).

(17) May this not have been the picture by Dance from which Home painted his portrait in the first instance? Claud Martin possessed at his death no less than forty-seven oil-paintings and sketches "by Zoffani": which were all sold in Calcutta by auction in November 30, 1801, by Thomas Roworth & Co. It is possible that the portrait of Coote was sold among them and bought by Cruttenden. Details of the pictures are not supplied in the advertisement of sale in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

(18) A reproduction of Hickey's picture was given in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1924 (Vol. XXVIII, p. 155).

(19) A tomb in the South Park Street cemetery, mentioned in the *Bengal Obituary* (p. 93), bears the simple inscription: "John Walker, died on the 18th October, 1808, aged 25 years." In the North Park Street burying ground is the grave of J. M. Rees, "second judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at Calcutta", who died on November 11, 1819, at the age of 40.

After his marriage Home seems to have gone to Lucknow. There is a mezzotint engraving by N. Way (20) in the provincial museum at Lucknow of a portrait by him of Wazir Ali which may have been painted at this period but which has disappeared. Wazir Ali is wearing on his belt a miniature of his reputed father, Asaf-ud-daula, whom he succeeded upon his death in 1797 with the approval of the government at Calcutta. Sir John Shore, however, paid an official visit to Lucknow in the following year, and deposing Wazir Ali installed Saadat Ali Khan, the half-brother of the late Nawab, on the throne. Wazir Ali was permitted to reside at Benares but when Wellesley took the place of Shore as Governor-General he was ordered to come to Calcutta: and he retaliated by murdering George Frederick Cherry, the Resident, and several other Englishmen, on January 14, 1799.

Upon the death of Asaf-ud-daula, Home returned to Calcutta. He was elected a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on August 17, 1797, and was appointed Secretary on March 6, 1802. This office he held until April 4, 1804, when he resigned. On February 3, 1808, he presented the society with two large pictures (84 inches by 60) of the remarkable temples and rock-carvings at Mahabalipuram (near Madras), painted by him: and on June 6, 1810, he gave the "Picture of a Pelican" the bird represented being the Australian variety (*pelecanus conspicillatus* of Temminck). On October 13, 1813, he added a half length portrait of Sir William Jones, the founder of the society, "composed from the very slender materials which are left to the public" (21). To the same period we may assign the half length portrait in the collection of John David Patterson, Judge of Dacca, from 1793 until his death there in 1809.

Home's output of pictures during his seventeen year's residence in Calcutta, was very large. Among the earliest must have been the portrait of Sir Robert Chambers which hangs in the Judges' Library at the High Court. The authorship of this picture has been ascribed to Arthur William Davis, who left India in the beginning of 1795 (22), and his name has been affixed to the frame. But Dr. Busteed who reproduced it in his *Echoes from old Calcutta*, has pointed out that Lady Chambers, in her short memoir of her husband, states definitely that it is by Home. The replica at University

(20) It is an artist's proof numbered 150, and was published in 1817. One of the pictures in the Vernon-Cator collection (of which some account was given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, p. 223) represents the marriage procession of Wazir Ali, who is riding on an elephant with the Nawab (Asaf-ud-daula).

(21) Did these "materials" include the "approved likeness from recollection" which was painted by John Alefounder, a forgotten artist, in 1791 (*Calcutta Gazette*, June 5, 1794). Both Sir William Jones and Alefounder died in that year: the former on April 25 and the latter on December 20, the picture has disappeared.

(22) In No. 3 of the *Madras Courier* of 1795, the departure is announced of the *William Pitt* (Benjamin Browne, commander) with "Mr. Davis" on board. Sir William Foster says, however (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 6) that the log of the *Rose* which left Bengal on January 10, 1795, names Davis among the passengers who landed at Deal on June 23, 1795.

College, Oxford, is certainly by Home, and so is another, a half length, which was in the possession of Mr. A. S. Flower in 1905 (23). The large mezzotint by Dawe, which was published in 1804, corroborates Lady Chambers. A copy of this rare print was shown by Major-General Macdonald at the Eails Court Exhibition. As Chambers left for Europe at the end of 1798, he must have sat to Home just before his departure: for Home was not in Calcutta when he succeeded Impey as Chief Justice in 1791.

It has been supposed by some that that an ambitious composition, now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, which represents "the departure of the two sons of Tippoo Sahib from their father" is the work of Home, who certainly painted pictures commemorating "The Reception of the Mysore Princes as Hostages by the Marquess Cornwallis" and "The death of Colonel Moorhouse at the storming of the Pettah at Bangalore" in 1790, and sent them home in 1797 for exhibition at the Royal Academy (24). But according to Redgrave (*Dictionary of Artists of the British School*, 1878) the artist is A. W. Devis, and the statement would seem to be supported by the account given in the *Calcutta Gazette* of a meeting held at Le Gallais' Tavern on September 4, 1793. The object of the meeting was to determine the price to be paid to Devis for the portrait of Lord Cornwallis, now at Belvedere, which he had just completed. Mr. Johnstone observed: "of the merit of the artist none surely need be told who have viewed the picture or have beheld the still greater effort of genius which is intended to perpetuate the triumph of magnanimity and generosity over violence and duplicity under the walls of Seringapatam" (25).

In January 1804 the sum of sicca Rs. 2,050 was paid to Home for the restoration of the pictures at Government House, Calcutta. These were the three portraits of Clive (after Dance) Warren Hastings (by Devis) and Cornwallis (also by Devis), the lifesize portraits (by Allan Ramsay) of George the Third and Queen Charlotte, and the portraits of Louis the Fifteenth and Marie Leczinska which were removed from Chandernagore at the taking of that place in 1757. Home was then commissioned to paint portraits of Wellesley and his brother Arthur for the collection.

The full-length portrait of Wellesley which used to hang in the Council Chamber at Government House, Calcutta, and is now at Simla, represents him with the ribbon and star of St. Patrick and also with the star and jewel of Tippoo which was presented to him by the victorious Mysore Army and which he wore for the first time at Government House on May 4, 1802, the third anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam. He is dressed in peer's robes over a Windsor uniform and stands facing the spectator with his right

(23) Information communicated by the late Mr. James S. Cotton.

(24) The second picture was engraved in stipple by E. Stalker and published on June 1, 1811, by George Goulding, with a dedication to Lord Wellesley. The whereabouts of both these pictures is unknown.

(25) The subject was fully discussed in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1924 (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 3, 4).

hand on his hip. The right hand rests on a large unrolled paper laid on a green covered table and inscribed "Subsidiary Treaty with Hyderabad 1798." On the table are volumes inscribed "Letters and correspondence 1799" and two rods inscribed "Subsidiary Treaty, Seringapatam 1799" and "Partition Treaty of Mysore." The picture is poorly painted and the figure presents a stunted appearance. Below the frame on either side are gilt wood carvings of tigers' heads and a tiger's skin festooned between them, in allusion to the overthrow of Tippoo Sultan, the "Tiger of Mysore." Supported on these is an elliptical wooden panel (3 feet 7½ inches by 2 feet 1½ inches) painted in gold and monochrome, which represents the installation of Krishna Raja Wadia, in whose person the former Hindu dynasty of Mysore was restored. The picture was, according to Lord Curzon, voted by the citizens of Calcutta and was painted in August 1803 (26). In the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 1, 1804 "Mr. Home begs leave to inform the subscribers to the engraving of Lord Wellesley that the prints are now ready for delivery." No engraving of this date is to be found at the British Museum: and its existence is unknown to Mr. Breun, the London print expert, of Greek Street, Soho (26A).

Another full length portrait of Lord Wellesley by Home is now at Delhi. It was painted in February 1804 (27). Lord Curzon has ascertained from a Bengal Letter of July 24, 1832, to the Court of Directors, that it was brought to Calcutta from Government House, Singapore. The church in the background is St. Mary's Church in Fort Saint George, Madras; as it is in the portrait by Thomas Hickey which is now in the Banqueting Hall at Madras and was first exhibited at the Exchange on May 4, 1800, the first anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam. A replica on a smaller scale, which seems to have a study by Home for the larger picture, was purchased by Lord Lytton in 1926 for Government House, Calcutta. An inscription on the back of the picture records that it was "painted circ. 1800 by Robert Home, presented to Mr. Burmann and retained in his family until 1893 when it was presented by his grand-daughter to Dr. Renaud." Lord Wellesley is shown standing in a vestibule with the face half turned to the left. His right hand holds a black hat and his

(26) Colonel Robert Home, C.I.E., in the minute on his grandfather's pictures prepared for the Government of India on March 7, 1887.

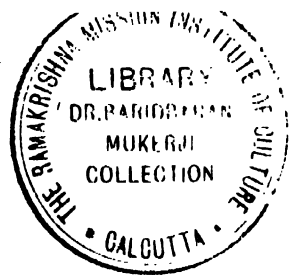
(26A) Proposals for publishing an engraving of "the portrait of Lord Wellesley by Mr. Home, the picture to be sent to England," are announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 19, 1800. Sir William Foster, with whom I have discussed the matter, suggests that this engraving may have been an early impression, for Calcutta subscribers only, of the mezzotint by Heath which was published in London in 1807: and that it was taken from the small full-length portrait which was purchased by Lord Lytton in 1926 for Government House, Calcutta, and which is stated to have been painted by Home "circ. 1800." The question can only be settled by a comparison (which I have been unable to undertake) between Heath's engravings, which differs in several particulars from the Simla portrait, and the picture at Government House, Calcutta.

(27) *Ibid.* The picture has been reproduced as a frontispiece to the first volume of Lord Curzon's *British Government in India*.

left rests on the hilt of a sword. He wears a red tail-coat with black cuffs, white knee-breeches and stockings and low buckled shoes. Across the right shoulder is the ribbon of the Order of St. Patrick and around the neck is the chain at the end of which hangs the jewel of the Order: on his left breast are the Star of the Order and the Star of the Turkish Order of the Crescent. On his left is a table draped in green cloth with pen and inkstand, books, and papers lying upon it. The complexion is fresh and the whiskers and wig white. Two Indian servants are standing in the background just outside the vestibule pointing to a body of soldiers, with standards, who are exercising in front of the church. An engraving of the large picture by James Heath was published in London on August 1, 1807, by R. Cribb of 288 Holborn: and a copy may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The ribbon of St. Patrick and the Turkish Order are omitted, and there is no wig.

In addition to these portraits there is a poor half length in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was presented by Home's sons in 1834 (28): and a replica of it in the Council-room at the India Office which was presented by Sir Henry Montgomery in 1875.

In 1804 or 1805 Home painted a full-length portrait of Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, which is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi. Wellesley is standing facing the spectator, bare-headed, and with his face turned slightly to the right. He is wearing a scarlet uniform coat, buttoned across the chest, white breeches, and black boots reaching to the knees. A crimson sash is wound round the waist. His right hand is thrust into his coat and the left rests on the hilt of a curved sword which has its point on the ground. The red ribbon and Star of the Bath are displayed. Behind the figure to the left is a large tent through the opening of which a chair and a table are seen. To the right are mountains seen across a distant plain. Tents and a Union Jack hoisted on a staff occupy the middle distance and in front of them are soldiers dragging a large gun into position. A large mezzotint engraving of this picture (19½ inches by 4 inches) by Charles Turner was "published by Robert Home, Calcutta, March 15, 1806": and there is a copy at the Victoria Memorial Hall. There are several repetitions of this picture. One hangs in a corridor at Buckingham Palace. An engraving by T. Williamson on a large scale (15½ inches by 11¼ inches) within a large flat border "from an original in the possession of Marquess Wellesley" was published in London by Cribb on April 14, 1813: and it was also engraved on an octavo page by P. Lightfoot for Maxwell's Life (1839). Cribb also published in 1813 another engraving by J. C. Easty. There is at the British Museum a German print by J. C. Bock, published without date by Friedrich Campe at Nuremberg which purports to be taken from a picture "nach dem Leben gemahlt von R. Home." It is a later adaptation. The attitude is dissimilar: the right hand is holding a straight sword which is raised from





COLONEL ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

By ROBERT HOME.

From the Picture in the National Portrait Gallery.

[Reproduced by Permission.]

the ground: and the left rests on a table upon which are placed a cocked hat and the plan of a fort marked " Vittoria." A large tent fills nearly the whole of the background except on the right of the figure, behind which is a distant view of a fort on a hill with an encampment. The features are badly drawn, and the mouth puckered.

There are two half length (or short three-quarter length) portraits of Arthur Wellesley by Home in public institutions in London. One is at the National Portrait Gallery, and acknowledgment is due to Mr. Hake, the Director, for permission to reproduce it. The other, which is a copy of another painting, is in the Military Committee-room at the India Office. The similarity between both of these and the full-length at Delhi is striking. The features and the pose are the same: he is wearing the same scarlet coat with black frogs and gold epaulettes, and the right hand is thrust inside the coat. But there is one important difference. In the National Portrait Gallery picture he is undecorated: in the India Office picture the Star of the Bath has evidently been painted in afterwards. It is awkwardly placed outside the row of buttons, and there is no red ribbon.

What is the reason for this difference? The history of the National Portrait Gallery picture is not helpful. It was bequeathed in 1885 to the National Gallery by Mrs. Elizabeth Bruce Gordon, subject to the life interest of Sir Brook Kay, Bart., upon whose death in 1907 it was transferred to the National Portrait Gallery. The India Office picture is a copy made by George Marchetti from an original sold in 1902 by Messrs. Colnaghi to the fourth Duke of Wellington. In his catalogue of paintings at the India Office (5th edition, 1924) Sir William Foster states that the original bore a paper label to the effect that it was painted shortly after the battle of Assaye (September 23, 1803).

Now, Colonel Wellesley arrived off the Sandheads from Madras on August 8, 1804 in His Majesty's sloop *Victor* and landed at " The Governor-General's ghaut " on August 12 (*Calcutta Gazette* August 16, 1804). He returned to Madras on November 12, 1804 and sailed thence from Europe in the *Trident* on March 9, 1805 (*Madras Gazette*, March 14, 1805). His appointment to the Order of the Bath was gazetted in London on September 1, 1804: but the news which was sent overland, did not reach Madras until February 17, 1805 (*Madras Courier*, February 20, 1805). According to Hickey (vol. IV, p. 364) the packet with the news arrived in Calcutta in March of that year. Colonel Home in his minute of March 7, 1887, states that his grandfather was paid Rs. 2,000 for the Delhi picture in August 1805. If it was completed before that date, as is probable, the reason for the ribbon and star is explained. The National Portrait Gallery picture, which was evidently a private commission, must have been handed over before March, 1805.

The picture sold by Messrs. Colraghi to the fourth Duke of Wellington (in which the star appears to be a subsequent addition) may perhaps be the one of which we hear in Madras in March 1805. On March 7, the *Madras Gazette*, in describing a grand farewell dinner given at the Pantheon on

March 2 by the officers of His Majesty's and the Honorable Company's service to Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, mentions "a most animated portrait painted by Home of the Honorable General" which was placed "in the centre of the Theatre." From the report in the *Madras Courier* of March 6, we learn that the picture was "an excellent half length painting of General Wellesley" and that it was "encircled with a crown of laurel."

This picture is certainly not the full-length which now hangs in the Banqueting Hall at Madras. For we read in the *Madras Gazette* of March 7, 1805, that a committee of the inhabitants of that settlement waited upon Sir Arthur Wellesley on March 5, with a request that he would "allow them to possess your Picture for the purpose of its being placed in the Exchange." This picture was painted by Hoppner in 1807 and was engraved by W. W. Barney in 1808 and by G. Clint in colours in 1814. It is remarkable for the unusual length of the fore-leg of the charger against which the General is leaning.

There is, of course, a bare possibility that Wellesley may have sat to Home for the London pictures during his earlier visits to Calcutta. "The Hon'ble Colonel Wesley" arrived on February 17, 1797, as a passenger in the *Fox* frigate (Captain Pulteney Malcolm), his regiment the 33rd Foot (now the 1st battalion of the Duke of Wellington's West Riding Regiment) having been ordered to Bengal (29). He presided at the St. Patrick's Day Dinner (Hickey Vol. IV, p. 154) and attended a dinner given by Hickey in celebration of the King's birthday on June 4. Shortly after he left to take part in an expedition to Manila: but it was countermanded and he returned from Penang to Madras. On April 10, 1798, he embarked from Madras in the *Endeavour* (Capt. R. W. Eastwick) and arrived in the Hooghly on May 3. It is matter of common knowledge that he was therefore actively engaged in the operations which ended in the fall of Seringapatam on May 4, 1799.

Mention is made in the fourth volume of Hickey's *Memoirs* (pp. 304, 305) of full-length portraits of the two Wellesleys, which are presumably those at Delhi and Simla.

Is there a replica of the Delhi portrait of Sir Arthur Wellesley at Bombay, which he visited in March and April 1801 and again from March to May 1804, and where, as he says in his *Despatches*, he was "feasted out and feasted in?" In Murray's *Handbook to India* (eleventh edition, 1924, by Sir John Cumming; p. 20) it is stated that in the disused Government House at Parel, where a Pasteur Institute has lately been established, there are "on the staircase a bust, and in the ballroom a portrait, of the Duke of Wellington." Moreover, Mr. James Douglas, in the second volume of his *Bombay and Western India* (1893) reproduces in photogravure (opposite page 9) a portrait of Sir Arthur Wellesley "by Home," which corresponds in all its details with the Delhi picture. But the illustration seems to be taken from Turner's engraving: for no mention is made in the letter press of

(29) Wellesley was appointed to be colonel of the 33rd Foot on February 1, 1806, in succession to Lord Cornwallis.

a portrait by Home, or by any other artist, in Bombay. If the picture is at Parel, so careful a chronicler as Mr. Douglas would scarcely have overlooked it. Recent enquiries have produced the same negative result. I am informed by Mr. S. T. Sheppard of the *Times of India*, to whom I am indebted for the trouble he has taken in the matter, that Mr. W. E. G. Solomon, the Principal of the School of Art, has failed to trace any paintings by Home in Bombay.

At the end of December 1804, a gentleman of Hickey's acquaintance, who had come to Calcutta from the Upper Provinces, was taken by him to the studio of Home "then deemed to be the best artist in Asia." Home was away on the morning of their visit, which took place on a Sunday: and they went alone into the studio and inspected the "whole collection" of pictures. At dinner that evening Hickey mentioned to his patron, Sir Henry Russell (then a judge of the Supreme Court) where they had been, and both he and his friend "expressed our pleasure at the number of excellent portraits, all of which I had known, although Mr. Home was not present to name them, especially observing upon two as large as life of the Marquess Wellesley and his brother Arthur, the General": whereupon Russell confessed to disappointment, for they must have noticed the portrait of himself, which he had intended to present to Hickey as a surprise on New Year's Day. The picture had, however, been locked up by Home. It was duly presented and placed in Hickey's breakfast room. He took it with him to Europe in 1808: "this picture," he says, "now graces my dining-room at Beaconsfield in Buckinghamshire." It has disappeared, along with the portrait of Hickey himself, which were painted in Calcutta: and the large portrait of Russell in the High Court is the work of George Chinnery (30).

Hickey tells us of two other portraits by Home. He records that in 1800 he commissioned Mr. Home to make a copy for him of a portrait in his possession of Benjamin Mee. "I had a copy made of Mr. Benjamin Mee's portrait by Mr. Home, an artist of some celebrity, at that time pursuing his profession in Calcutta; and when completed I kept the copy so made, dispatching the original to Lady Palmerston." (Hickey's *Memoirs*, IV, p. 249). Lady Palmerston was the mother of the future Prime Minister, at the time of her marriage at Bath on January 5, 1783 to the second Viscount Palmerston, Mee appears to have been a "Director of the Bank of England" (31). Financial difficulties drove him, as it drove many others in those days, to Bengal. "Some of his city friends advising him to try India, he accepted the appointment of a cadet for Bengal, not with any intention of continuing in the army but merely to get to the East Indies with the sanction of the Company." Shortly after his arrival in Calcutta in April 1785,

(30) A fine copy of the engraving of this picture by S. W. Reynolds has been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by Sir David Ezra.

(31) *Herald and Genealogist*: Vol. III, pp. 403-410. The third Viscount Palmerston who was the Prime Minister was born on October 20, 1784: and Elizabeth Temple, his sister, married in 1811 the Right Hon. Laurence Sullivan of Ponsbourne Park, Herts, the son of Laurence Sullivan, Director of the East India Company almost continuously from 1755 to 1783 and chairman of the Court in 1758, 1760, 1761 and 1781.

he became a partner in the Bengal Bank with Jacob Rider and Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, the father of Lord Metcalfe (32). "The emoluments of the business were immense," says Hickey (Vol. III, p. 275), "their notes being current as cash all over the British territories in Asia, and in circulation to an amount almost incredible." But Mee's inclination to speculation was again his ruin. The Bank stopped payment in 1792: as the result of large losses on the manufacture of cloths for the foreign market. Rider escaped to Bombay but later returned to Calcutta and made his way to Benares which was outside the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court (33). Mee hid himself in Hickey's house and with his connivance (and apparently also of Sir William Dunkin) embarked secretly on board the *Asia*, Captain Foulkes, which was bound to Bencoolen to take in pepper, and to proceed from thence to Europe. He died at Montpellier in 1796. Hickey describes him as "a man of the most insinuating and engaging manner": and he certainly imposed most successfully on his friends.

Home's copy has disappeared with the rest of Hickey's collection of pictures: but Colonel Wilfrid Ashley, M.P. informs me that a portrait of Mee by Romney is preserved at Broadlands, and that he noted in his private catalogue, "a good many years ago" that "in all probability this picture was presented in September 1802 by Mr. Hickey to Mr. Mee's sister, the 2nd Viscountess Palmerston." The portrait is described at page 102 of the second volume of "Romney, a Catalogue Raisonné" by Humphry Ward and W. Roberts (1904): and it is there stated that Romney received eighteen guineas for it in 1780. In that case, it must have been presented by Mee to Hickey.

The second portrait mentioned by Hickey is that of Sir John Anstruther who filled the office of Chief Justice from 1798 to 1807 and was succeeded by Russell. This picture which hangs in the Chief Justice's Court, bears the name of no artist: but Hickey (Vol. IV, p. 391) makes it clear that it was painted by Home. His dislike of Anstruther was intense: and he would have us believe that the portrait was presented to him in 1807 by a few "interested" members of the grand Jury, in spite of strong opposition, at the instigation of William Fairlie, the foreman. He hints that it was ordered as a counterblast to Chinnery's portrait of Russell which was subscribed for by the leading Indian inhabitants of Calcutta: and he calls it "a sign post whole length likeness in scarlet robes executed by Mr. Home" (34).

The receipt is recorded in the Bengal Proceedings of August 14, 1806, of a letter from Mr. Robert Home, stating that in March 1803 he was en-

(32) Metcalfe returned to England and from 1789 to 1812 was a Director of the Company: he was created a baronet in 1803 and died in 1813. The proprietors the Bengal Bank after his departure were Jacob Rider and Edward Hay (*India Gazette*, August 15, 1785).

(33) He died at Ghazipur on August 25, 1809. By the marriage of his daughter with Richard Comyns Birch of the Civil Service, he was the grandfather of Major-General Sir Richard John Holwell Birch of the Bengal Army, whose name perpetuates his descent through his father from John Zephaniah Holwell.

(34) Hickey's memory betrays him. The Chief Justice is wearing dark robes in the High Court picture.

gaged to paint ceilings for the three staircases of Government House and for the Council-room at a price of Rs. 8,500, namely, Rs. 4,000 for the Council-room and Rs. 1,500 for each of the staircases. Since then he has spent Rs. 6,029 and has been given an advance of Rs. 2,500. He asks for instructions as to the completion of the work. If it is decided to put up no new ceilings in Government House, he is willing to bear the loss of his time and trouble, but will be out of pocket by Rs. 3,529. He suggests therefore that he shall be allowed to keep the "sixteen portraits of natives painted by Mr. Hickey at Madras and which was [sic] sent to him about twelve months ago to get framed for the Government House." As "Mr. Hickey's prices were 50 pagodas a head" the total sum paid to him "at 315 sicca rupees to pagodas 100 was sicca Rs. 2,600," about £325. The materials of the ceilings he would take to make up the deficiency. Home was informed in reply that it was not considered expedient to authorize the expense of finishing the ceilings he had been instructed to prepare for Government House; but that he would be reimbursed the sa. Rs. 3,625 which he had spent, and also the cost of framing the portraits of the late Tippoo Suldaun's family on the due delivery of the pictures (35). These sixteen pictures are mostly now hung in the Chamber of the Council of State, which adjoins Viceregal Lodge at Simla: but a few are at Belvedere. They were for many years at Barrackpore Park but were transferred to Government House, Calcutta, in 1885 under the orders of Lord Dufferin (36).

In 1887 Colonel Robert Home, C.I.E., who was at the time Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department, recorded in a minute the result of enquiries made by him regarding certain portraits attributed by his grandfather. Among those definitely determined were the two portraits of the Marquess Wellesley and the Delhi portrait of his brother, which have already been discussed, and "a portrait of Lord Minto painted in 1812." The probability, as Sir William Foster has pointed out, is that the Minto portrait is the full-length in peer's robes, now at Belvedere, which has been ascribed to George Chinnery (37). It appears from the *Calcutta Gazette* of February 7, 1811, that a deputation of Calcutta merchants waited upon Lord Minto on February 2 to congratulate him on the capture of Mauritius and to request him to accept an entertainment and to sit for his portrait "to be placed in the Council-chamber." The entertainment took place at Moore's Rooms in Dacres Lane on the evening of February 21, and prominent among the decorations were "two transparencies" which "reflect great credit on Mr. Home." Lord Minto left for Java on March 14 and returned to Calcutta on November 21: when no doubt he gave sittings and the picture was painted. The fact that Home was engaged to exercise his talent in connexion with the entertainment, makes it likely that he received the commission for the picture. He certainly painted a half-length

(35) Quoted by Lord Curzon in the first volume of his *British Government in India*.

(36) For a description of these pictures see the article on Thomas Hickey in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 158-162.

(37) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 104: where the picture is reproduced.

portrait of Lord Minto, in a black coat lined with red and trimmed with gold which is among the pictures presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by his sons in 1834.

Colonel Home mentions also "a historical picture of Lord Lake and his staff at Fatehgarh" and a portrait of Sir George Hewett, who was Commander-in-Chief in India, in succession to Lake, from 1807 to 1811. The former is now at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It was hung for many years in the Calcutta Town Hall and had been neglected to such an extent that when it was cleaned by Mr. Alexander Scott in 1901 nothing was visible upon the canvas except the figure of Lake mounted on a horse of a dull brown colour. Lake, as a matter of fact, is riding a fine white charger, and his son and aide-de-camp, who is at his side, is on a black horse: while two other members of the staff are seen in the background coming up the hill on which the principal figures are standing. With the exception of three months, during which the post was held by Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, Lake was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1801 to 1807. After the surprise of Holkar's camp at Farrukhabad on November 17, 1804, the army halted at Fatehgarh and marched thence to capture the fortress of Dig on Christmas Eve. As Lake sailed from Calcutta at the end of February 1807, the picture may have been painted in 1806. It was hanging in the Town Hall in 1823: for Sir Charles D'Oyly in his facetious poem "Tom Raw, Griffin" (which was published in that year) refers to it in disparaging terms as "a glorious signboard for an inn": and it is mentioned also in a list of Town Hall pictures which was compiled in 1849. Sir Charles D'Oyly's strictures are undeserved. An examination of the illustration on the opposite page (38) will show that, while the style is somewhat stiff and wooden, there is much to be said in praise of the composition.

It has not been possible to ascertain the circumstances in which this picture came to be painted. Presumably the cost was met by public subscription but a search through the files of the *Calcutta Gazette* for 1806 and 1807 has failed to establish this. A sword was certainly presented to Lake by the inhabitants of Calcutta on August 18, 1806: but there is no mention of a picture in the report of the proceedings in the *Calcutta Gazette*. On September 11, 1806, which was the anniversary of the battle of Delhi, an entertainment was given in his honour at the rooms of Messrs. Carlier and Scornec in Calcutta. "At the upper and lower extremities of the room were two beautiful transparencies from the animated pencil of Home which deservedly attracted very general attention." That at the lower end of the room represented a winged figure of Fame over "an enchanting view of London and the Thames with the words 'Allighur,' 'Delhi,' 'Agra,' and 'Laswarree' issuing from her trumpet." The transparency at the upper end of the hall represented an equestrian statue of Lord Lake "in the ancient Roman costume of the *Imperator exercituum*", on the pedestal of which was "most admirably executed in relief the highly affecting scene which

(38) The picture has never been engraved or otherwise reproduced.



LORD LAKE AND HIS STAFF
AT FATEHGARH, 1804.

By ROBERT HOME.

From the Picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall
at Calcutta.

occurred at the battle of Laswarree (39), where the Horse of the Commander-in-Chief being killed under him by a cannon shot, his son Lieut.-Col. Lake is seen in the heat of the battle rushing forward and urging his gallant father to mount his horse which he is in the attitude of presenting to him." It is strange that Home should have selected this incident and not the one which is reproduced in the Town Hall picture. For it forms the subject of a painting by George Place an artist who died at Lucknow on August 11, 1805, and was engraved in stipple by R. Cooper in 1807. There is a copy of the engraving in the Victoria Memorial Hall (40).

The portrait of Sir George Hewett is still in the Town Hall. It is the full-length portrait of a military man in a scarlet uniform with top-boots and white buckskin breeches, which hangs on the grand staircase. But it long remained unidentified. Colonel Home's minute was overlooked: and for sometime it was stupidly labelled as a portrait of Clive. The mystery was cleared up in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1924 (Vol. XXVII, pp. 59-71) and a correct inscription was placed upon the frame, in a later issue (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 37-38) Sir William Foster has shown, from a quotation taken from the supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 14, 1811, that the picture was painted at the request of the merchants of Calcutta. Home had less than a month for the necessary sittings, inasmuch as Hewett sailed from Calcutta on December 10, 1811: But apart from the evidence of his grandson, the picture, as Sir William Foster has observed, is typical of the work of that "diligent but uninspired artist" (41).

The early portrait of the Duke of Wellington is not the only specimen of Homes' work at the National Portrait Gallery. He is also represented by a portrait of William Carey of Serampore with his Brahman pundit. This, the only known portrait of Carey in existence. It was painted in 1812, and exhibited at the Royal Academy in the following year. At one time it was at Serampore College, but was transferred to the Regent's Park College in London. The authorities of that institution deposited it in the National Portrait Gallery in 1924 and retained a copy. An engraving was made by W. Worthington in 1813 and a copy of this is in the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall (42), Carey resided at Serampore from 1799 until his death there on June 9, 1834 (a few months before Home) in his seventythird year.

(39) November 1, 1803.

(40) It was reproduced as a frontispiece to Col. H. H. Pearce's biography of Lord Lake. Place was employed by Nawab Saadat Ali; and it was proved before a Committee of the House of Commons that up to the end [sic] of 1805 he had received between five and six thousand pounds from the Nawab and had painted pictures of him and his court.

(41) See the reproduction of the picture in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, opposite p. 59.

(42) The engraving was reproduced in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VI, at p. 148. Mr. J. J. Cotton in the chapter contributed by him to *Calcutta Old and New* refers (p. 998) to a "portrait of Carey with his moonshee, said to be by Zoffany" which was in the library at Serampore College in 1906. The allusion is to Home's picture. No such portrait was painted by Zoffany.

In 1801 he was appointed as Lord Wellesley to a professorship of Bengali and Marhatta at the College of Fort William.

The portraits of Carey and Lord Minto (if the picture at Belvedere be his) were probably among the last which were painted by Home in Calcutta. According to Dr. C. R. Wilson (43) who follows Carey, he was engaged as Court painter by Saadat Ali, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, who died in 1814, on a salary of Rs. 5,000 a year with permission to take private commissions (44). A life size full-length portrait of Saadat Ali, which is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, is believed to be by Home (45). Hickey who knew the Nawab when he was living at Garden Reach in a private capacity, describes him (Vol. IV, p. 178) as "a fair personable man in the prime of life" who spoke English fluently and was a steadfast friend to the Company. According to Sleeman he was one of the best of the rulers of Oudh.

Saadat Ali's son and successor was Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, who was authorized by the Marquess of Hastings to assume the title of King of Oudh in 1819, and who died in 1827. Of Home's experiences at his Court we read in Redgrave's *Dictionary of British Artists* (1878):

When a picture pleased the King by the recognized fidelity of the likeness or the faithful rendering of the costume, the royal generosity frequently knew no bounds. In some of his groups of large ceremonials he had to encounter great difficulties from the ignorance of the King and had frequently, when His Majesty deposed his ministers or beheaded them, to make corresponding changes in his pictures (46).

None of these "groups of large ceremonials" are known to have survived, but an imposing portrait of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It represents "The Shah Zumeen (47), King of Oude receiving Tribute": and was presented to King George the Fourth by Sir Everard Home in 1828. For many years it formed part of the collection

(43) Descriptive catalogue of the Paintings in the Rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta 1897).

(44) The writer of the article on "European Artists at the Court of Lucknow" (*Pioneer*, March 29, 1919) asserts that Home migrated to Lucknow in 1819 upon his appointment as Court painter by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar who assumed the title of King of Oudh in that year. A similar statement is made in Redgrave's *Dictionary of British Artists*. But see the quotation from Heber's Journal on a later page.

(45) It is not known how this picture found its way into the collection. An engraving by F. R. Say was published in 1806 of a portrait of Saadat Ali "now in the possession of the Prince of Wales" which was painted at Lucknow for "P. Treves, junior, Esquire" by George Place (as to whom see note 36). The copy in the Victoria Memorial Hall was presented by Her Majesty the Queen. Pellegrine Treves (writer, 1784) died at Lucknow on August 23, 1823. He was the son of a Jewish money-lender who was one of the associates of the Prince Regent. (Farington Diary, October 14, 1802).

(46) There is a suspicious similarity between this quotation and the account given by Carey and repeated by Dr. Wilson in his catalogue of Home's residence at the court of Asaf-ud-daula. They appear to relate to the same period of Home's career.

(47) A title adopted by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar on his assumption of the royal dignity. Carey is wholly mistaken in supposing that the picture represents Asaf-ud-daula.

at Hampton Court and was sent out to Calcutta by his present Majesty in 1921.

Heber met Home at Lucknow in October 1824. The passage in his *Journal* (Vol. I, p. 395 of the edition of 1828) is well known but it will bear repetition:

I sat for my portrait to Mr. Home four times. He has made several portraits of the King redolent of youth and radiant with diamonds, and a portrait of Sir E. Paget which he could not help making a resemblance. He is a very good artist indeed for a King of Oude to have got hold of. He is a quiet, gentlemanly man, brother of the celebrated surgeon in London, and came out to practise as a portrait painter in Madras during Lord Cornwallis' first administration; was invited from there to Lucknow by Saadat Ali a little before his death and has since been retained by the King at a fixed salary, to which he adds a little by private practice. His son is a captain in the Company's service but is now attached to the King of Oude as equerry and European aide-de-camp. Mr. Home would have been a distinguished painter had he remained in Europe, for he has a great deal of task and his drawing is very good and rapid: but it has been of course a great disadvantage to him to have only his own works to study, and he probably finds it necessary to paint in glowing colours to satisfy his master.

A copy of Home's portrait of Heber was sent by him to his widow after the Bishop's death at Tinnevely in 1826: and another replica was given by the artist to Bishop's College, Calcutta, where it still is.

The portrait of Sir Edward Paget, who was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1823 to 1825, appears to be the half-length which is one of those presented in 1834 by Home's sons to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Paget visited Lucknow in the autumn of 1823 and records in his journal on November 4 that "the King has invited me to sit for my picture to Mr. Holmes, his portrait painter."

Of the several portraits of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, "redolent of youth and radiant with diamonds," there is one, a three-quarter length, in the same collection. He is shown clean shaven except for a slight moustache: whereas Lord Hastings writing of him at the time of his accession in 1814 observes that "the fashion in which he wears his beard, very grey though he is scarce forty, is very singular: it is just in the state that the beard of one of us, in the habit of shaving, would exhibit if untouched for a week." The likeness must therefore be a flattering one: and it is evident that great care has been taken over the painting of the strings of pearls and other jewels which encircle the neck and ornament the turban.

During the reign of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, Home's two sons were at Lucknow with him: John, the elder, as equerry and European aide-de-camp from 1820 to 1825 when he was appointed brigade-major at Cawnpore: and Richard as commandant of the Resident's escort from 1818 to 1825. It is said that they left Lucknow together because the King refused leave to

John to rejoin his regiment in order to take part in the siege of Bhurtpore (48).

However, worthless a man Ghazi-ud-din Haidar was—and his chief claim to remembrance appears to be that he gave his name to the King of Oudh's sauce which was very popular at one time in London—he was outdone by his reputed son Nasir-ud-din Haidar who occupied the throne from 1827 to 1837: and Home must have felt entirely out of place among such surroundings as those which are described in William Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King* (49). Captain Geoffrey Mundy who visited Lucknow with Lord Combermere in December 1827, paints a very unflattering portrait of him in his "Sketches of India." He was "a plain vulgar-looking man with an unusually dark complexion" and "his mental endowments, pursuits and amusements are by no means of an elevated or dignified order." Grave doubts existed as to his parentage: and he was believed to be the son of a palace washerman (50).

Other portraits of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar decorate the walls of the two Anglo-Indian Clubs in London. That at the East India United Service Club is evidently a replica of the picture belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was given, together with a charmingly painted small full-length portrait in uniform by Home of Colonel John Baillie (1772-1833), Resident at Lucknow from 1807 to 1815, by Mr. G. E. Baillie, the Colonel's nephew. Colonel John Baillie was the first professor of Arabic and Persian at the College of Fort William upon its institution in 1800: and after his return to Europe became a member of Parliament and a Director of the East India Company (1823-1833). Mr. Alexander F. Baillie in his book on the Oriental Club, states, upon the authority of Home's daughter, Mrs. Walker, "whom I knew very well in days gone by," that Home owed his appointment as Historical Painter at the Court of Lucknow "at £2,000 a year" to the influence of Colonel Baillie. The three-quarter length portrait of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar at the Oriental Club represents him with a crown, as in the picture at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It was presented in 1836 by Richard Strachey (1781-1847), the third son of Clive's Secretary who was Resident at Lucknow from 1815 to 1817 and who also brought home with him the picture known as the Ashwick version of Zoffany's "Cock Match." He gave at the same time to the Club a small darkly-painted half length portrait by Home of Daulat Rao Sindhia (1780-1827) at whose Court he was Resident from 1811 to 1815. The Oriental Club possesses two other pictures by Home. One is a three-quarter length of Lord Wellesley. He is represented in peer's robes over a Windsor uniform and wearing two stars and the collar and jewel of St. Patrick, as in the Delhi picture: but it is a superior painting in every way. The other is a three-quarter length

(48) I am indebted to Major V. C. Hodson for these details. Bhurtpore fell on January 18, 1826.

(49) See the article by Mr. J. J. Cotton in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 113-122. There is no mention of Home in the book. A "painter and musician" named Muntz was one of the King's boon-companions.

(50) Fanny Parks: *Wanderings in Search of the Picturesque*: Vol. 1, p. 168.

portrait, in mufti, of Colonel Robert Barnewall, who served in the Bombay Army from 1803 to 1833. These were presented in 1841 and 1850. Mr. G. de Sidenham, the donor of the Wellesley portrait, stated in the letter which accompanied the gift that the picture was "painted by Home in 1805 and presented by Lord Wellesley to Mr. B. de Sidenham." The identity of this gentleman has not been ascertained.

If the absence of any obituary notice is to be accepted as an indication, Home must be held to have outlived his reputation. The announcement in the *Englishman* of September 23, 1834, is in the following terms:

At Cawnpore (51), on the 12th instant, Robert Home, Esq., in the 83rd year of his age. Few members of our Society have been so long known and so universally esteemed as Mr. Home, both on account of his high professional acquirements and his many amiable qualities.

Even less information is to be extracted from the *India Gazette*, the *Asiatic Journal*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Annual Register*, which are content with a bare notice of his death. The *Calcutta Monthly Journal* is altogether silent. Search has been made in vain for a quotation from the *Cawnpore Examiner*; and consultation of the newspaper itself has been impossible, for the files are not to be found in the British Museum or the India Office Library. Fanny Parks, who was at Cawnpore in 1830 and at Allahabad in 1834, makes no reference to Home. But if we examine the *East India Register*, we find that in the issue of May 31, 1828, Home is shown as being at Lucknow; on May 15, 1829, at Cawnpore; and on May 15, 1830 again, at Lucknow down to January 1833 (52). His death at Cawnpore is recorded in the *East India Register* for May 20, 1835. We know also that he was succeeded as court painter by George Beechey, the son of Sir William Beechey, R.A., who came out to Calcutta about the year 1830 and married an Indian lady.

It is difficult to reconcile these scraps of positive evidence with the statements made by Carey in "The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company":

Home retired from the Nawab's service at an advanced age and spent the remainder of his days at Cawnpore, where he kept up a handsome establishment: and until the loss of his daughter and increasing infirmities rendered him averse to society, was wont to exercise the most extensive hospitality to the residents of the station (52A).

Dr. C. R. Wilson quotes this passage, almost verbatim, in his descriptive catalogue of the paintings in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of

(51) The *Dictionary of National Biography* is entirely at fault in stating that Home died in Calcutta.

(52) Major Hodson has very kindly supplied these references.

(52A) Sir William Foster has tracked this quotation to its original source. The passage will be found in the second volume of Emma Roberts' *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan* (1835) at page 144.

Bengal (Calcutta 1897): and Mr. Douglas Dewar, the writer of the article on "European Artists at the Court of Lucknow" which appeared in the *Pioneer* of March 29, 1919, repeats the same facts but is more precise as to dates.

In 1828 Home with his married daughter Mrs. Anne Walker went to live at Cawnpore where he kept up a handsome establishment and exercised the most extensive hospitality until the death of his daughter in November 1829.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of November 19, 1829, records the death on November 8, at Cawnpore of "Mrs. Walker, relict of the late J. Walker, Esq. of the Civil Service, aged 44 years." Her grave is next to that of her father in the cutcherry cemetery.

Home's two sons are the "Brigadier and Colonel Home" who presented their father's private collection of pictures to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on November 5, 1834 (53). Both were promoted to the rank of Major-General in 1854. John (cadet, 1803) became Colonel of the 57th Bengal Infantry. He married on April 24, 1838 at Weston, Somerset, the daughter of Charles Batsford, of that place and died at Bath on April 17, 1860. Richard (cadet 1804), who was Colonel of the 43rd Bengal Infantry, died at Brighton on April 18, 1862. He married at Lucknow in 1822 the daughter of Lieut.-Col. Charles Fraser of the 7th Bengal Cavalry and was the father of Lieut. Duncan Charles Home, V.C. (1828-1857) one of the heroes of the Kashmir Gate, and of Ensign George Row Home (1837-1856), who were both of the Bengal Army. Another son was Colonel Robert Home (1834-1896) of the Bengal Engineers, of whom mention has been made, and who came out in the *Holspur* in 1855 and retired in 1889 (54).

The collection of pictures which was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal is divisible into two classes. There are firstly thirteen portraits painted by Home himself: including a replica of the portrait of Sir William Jones which he gave to the Society in 1813. Several of the remaining twelve have come under notice in the preceding pages. Of the others, Sir George Hilary Barlow, provisional Governor-General from 1805 to 1807 and Governor of Fort Saint George from 1807 to 1813, was one of the

(53) There is no foundation, as far as I have been able to ascertain, for the statement made by Carey and also in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (and repeated in the article in the *Pioneer* of March 29, 1919) that one of the artist's sons was killed at the battle of Sobraon (February 10, 1846). Major Hodson informs me that no officer of the name of Home appears in the list of casualties.

(54) Col. Walter Plowden in his "Records of the Chicheley Plowdens" mentions that George Ward Plowden (afterwards a Major-General in the Bengal Army) "and his cousin Robert Home of the Bengal Engineers" were stationed together at Karnal in 1857. Plowden was the son of George Plowden (1810-1871) of the Bengal Civil Service and the grandson of Trevor Plowden, the first (1783-1836). Sir aunt Henrietta married Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Major Hodson informs me that the Frasers, Homes, and Plowdens, all intermarried.

thirty founders of the Society (55), and acted as the first Secretary: Horace Hayman Wilson was Secretary of the Society from 1811 to 1833, and subsequently Librarian at the India House and Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. Nusserat Jung, Nawab of Dacca from 1787 to 1822, was a great patron of the arts. Sir Charles D'Oyly who was Collector of Dacca from 1808 to 1812, dedicated to the Nawab one of the sketches in his "Antiquities of Dacca" and says of him in the letter press that the audience-chamber of his palace at Dacca "is so crowded with English prints and paintings that not an inch of the walls can be seen." There is also a portrait of James Cunningham Grant-Duff, the historian of the Mahrattas: but nothing is known of the circumstances in which Home came to paint it. The whole of Grant-Duff's service in India was passed on the Bombay side from his arrival in 1805 until his retirement in 1823. Lastly, there are the portraits of two medical men: Dr. John Laird, President of the Bengal Hospital Board in 1795, and Dr. John Fleming, who succeeded him in 1800: and a portrait labelled "General Jones", which is supposed to represent Major-General William Jones who was commanding at Berham-pore in 1795 and retired in 1799.

To the second class must be assigned twenty pictures of a miscellaneous character, some of these are of real distinction. It is not generally known that in the building at the corner of Park Street and Chowringhee may be found an original Guido Reni, a Morland (the Farmer's Household), a Tilly Kettle, and two paintings by the great Sir Joshua. The Guido Reni is a picture of Cleopatra in the act of placing the snake to her breast. One of the Reynolds is a figure of Cupid asleep on a cloud. The other is the well-known portrait of Sir William Jones as a boy. Included among the remainder are the equally famous portrait of Warren Hastings by Tilly Kettle, two copies of works by Rubens (of which one is in the Louvre at Paris), a copy of Domenichino's "Woman Taken in Adultery", an impressive painting of Antwerp Cathedral by the elder Steinwick, two Welsh landscapes ("Sunrise" and "Sunset") by A. W. Devis. "A Ghat at Benares" by Thomas Daniell, and two Landscapes by Home ("Foul Weather at Sea" and "The Ford").

Outside the gift, mention must be made of the portrait of Home himself, which was painted by his pupil A. Gregory and presented by him to the Society (56). The collection also includes portraits of Dr. John Adam and Dr. Simon Nicolson and two Indian Landscapes: "The Ruins of a Bridge" (23 inches by 18) and "The Village Ghat" (18 inches by 12): which are attributed to Home.

It is to be feared that for many years the value of these treasures was imperfectly appreciated. The pictures were badly hung: and it must also

(55) The Asiatic Society of Bengal was constituted on January 15, 1784, at a meeting held under the presidency of Sir Robert Chambers, and addressed by Sir William Jones, until 1804 the Society met in the Grand Jury Room on the upper floor of the Supreme Court building: The house in Park Street which is now the headquarters was erected in 1808.

(56) Reproduced as a frontispiece to this article. We are indebted to Mr. Percy Brown for the photograph.

be said that they were neglected. But with the restoration of the historic building in 1924, a complete re-arrangement was undertaken, and the ravages of time were repaired, in so far as this was possible. Home's portrait of the two Daniells, which was so placed over a doorway that its existence was almost forgotten, has been transferred to the walls of the lecture room, with Tilly Kettle's portrait of Warren Hastings and the portrait of Sir William Jones, as a boy, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The Morland is properly displayed at the head of the main staircase, and there also may now be seen George Chinnery's characteristic portrait of himself and George Beechey's portrait of himself and his Indian wife and family.

EVAN COTTON.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since these pages were sent to press, an article by Sir Arthur Keith on "The Portraits and Personality of John Hunter" (Home's brother-in-law), has been published in the *British Medical Journal* for February 11, 1928. Mention is made therein of two portraits of Hunter by Home—both early productions. The first is supposed to have been painted when Hunter was about forty years old and was courting Annie Home. It is in the rooms of the Royal Society in London, and a replica, presented by Sir John Bland Sutton, may be seen at the Royal College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Hunter is shown in a laced coat, embroidered waistcoat, and cocked hat, "seated in a sylvan glade with his dog; half mastiff half wolf, resting his muzzle confidently on his knee." The second picture hangs in the hall of the College of Surgeons and was the gift of Hunter's grandnephew, William Hunter Baillie. It appears to have been painted between the years 1775 and 1788. Hunter is represented in working dress, pen in hand, at a table; and the composition is carried out in shades of grey, the hair being powdered and the costume toned to match. The picture, says Sir Arthur Keith, is "the work of a man of undoubted talent."

The opportunity may also be taken to repair an omission of another kind. There are three paintings by Home in the collection of Maharaja Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore at Calcutta. Two are Indian landscapes, and the third is described in the catalogue as an "Indian Gateway" all are of the same dimensions, 28 inches by 24 inches.

E. C.

Bengal Chiefs' Struggle

FOR INDEPENDENCE IN THE REIGN OF AKBAR & JAHANGIR.

§1. *Bibliographical.*

LORD Cornwallis wanted to make a permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. But with whom was the settlement to be made? Who were the actual proprietors of the soil? The question came to be asked very naturally and gave rise to a furious controversy. Some attempted to ascertain to whom the land actually belonged at the time of the last transfer of political power, *i.e.*, when the Afghans were ousted and Bengal came to be occupied by the Mughals. One Mr. C. W. B. Rouse joined the controversy and produced a book,—“Dissertation concerning the landed property of Bengal.” In this book, which was published in London in 1791, the author correctly brought out the fact that Bengal, at the time when the Afghans made their exit and the Mughals came in, belonged to no single individual, but was parcelled out among a number of practically independent Chiefs called Bhuiyans—some of them Hindu, but the majority of them Muslim by religion.

A perusal of this production of Mr. Rouse led Dr. Wise of Dacca to make a serious attempt to recover the history of the Bhuiyans who held sway in and about the district of Dacca, and the outcome was his remarkable essay on the Bara-Bhuiyans or the twelve Chieftains of Bengal published in the 3rd number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1874. Dr. Wise dealt principally with the following five Chiefs:—(1) Fazl Ghazi of Bhawal. (2) Chand Ray and Kedar Ray of Bikrampur. (3) Lakshmana-Manikya of Bhulua. (4) Kandarpa-narayan of Chandradvip or Bacla. (5) Masnad-i-Ali Isa Khan of Khizrpur. Dr. Wise made a further contribution on the subject in the *Journal* for 1875 (pp. 181-182) and attempted to give some additional information. Dr. Wise's articles have always been the basis of all subsequent contributions on the subject. It should be mentioned here that Mr. Blochmann also, in his famous essay—“Contributions towards the History and Geography of Bengal,” published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1873, and in his translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 342, footnote, speaks of the twelve Bhuiyans of Bengal. (1)

The next remarkable contribution on the subject was that of Mr. Beveridge who wrote on Isa Khan in *J. A. S. B.* 1904, p. 57, and utilised a part of the informations, that are to be found in the *Akbar-nama* which he was

(1) Westland's *Jessore* published in 1871 and Beveridge's *Backerganj* published in 1876 may also be mentioned in this connection. But these two books do not seriously concern themselves with the history of any of the Bhuiyans.

then translating into English for the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Catrabo, Isa Khan's capital, eluded his attempts at identification owing to his lack of local topographical knowledge. Otherwise, his attempt must be pronounced to be the most serious attempt to place Isa Khan on a true historical footing. It would appear, however, that he too failed to appreciate the greatness of Isa Khan's life-long struggle for independence and he did not devote to it the regardful attention it deserves. After dealing with the subject at some length he somewhat lightly and abruptly refers to some pages of the Akbar-nama in which further details of Isa Khan's doings are to be found and then goes off to discuss some minor and unimportant issues. It is very greatly to be regretted that the importance of Isa Khan's struggles has not even now been seen in its proper perspective,—no scholar has yet turned up even to look up the references given by Mr. Beveridge or to read through the whole of Akbar-nama and other cognate works to find out if further details of Isa Khan's struggles are available.

The next contribution of importance is that of Mr. Stapleton in his "Note on seven sixteenth-century cannon recently discovered in the Dacca District" published in the J. A. S. B. 1909. The cannons are now in the Dacca Museum and one more inscribed cannon has since been found and deposited in the Dacca Museum. Mr. Stapleton's accurate description of the cannon and his reading of the inscriptions are very useful, though he failed to read the Bengali inscription of Isa Khan on one of the cannon, and some other short inscriptions in Persian, correctly. Historically, the article does not contain much new information.

In the 1913 volume of the J. A. S. B., Rev. Hosten adverted to the subject again in an article on "The Twelve Bhuiyans or Landlords of Bengal." He utilised the writings of the contemporary Portuguese writers and sought to identify the places called by them Salimanvas, Catrabo and Chandican. He also attempted to ascertain who were the "Twelve Bhuiyans" and why their number was fixed at twelve. It was Rev. Hosten, who first pointed out that there are references to the King of Chandecan i.e., Pratapaditya of Jessore, in the writings of the Portuguese missionaries even as late as 1613 A.D. and in March, 1613, the occupation of Chandecan by the Mughals had been referred to in a manner, which showed that the event was a recent one. Bahar-i-stan, the unique and very detailed contemporary History of Bengal during the reign of J̄hangir, in the Persian language, by Mirza Nathan, the only known Ms. of which was brought to light by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar from the Bibliothique Nationale of Paris, makes it now absolutely certain that Pratapaditya fell by the beginning of 1612 A.D. during the viceroyalty of Islam Khan and in the reign of J̄hangir and not by the hands of Manasimha during the reign of Akbar. But in 1913, neither Rev. Hosten himself nor any of his readers could realise the importance of these Portuguese references to Pratapaditya in 1613 as upsetting the then-accepted date for the fall of Pratapaditya. Neither Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, when he wrote in the Prabashi on Pratapaditya on the basis of Bahar-i-stan, nor Prof. Satish Chandra Mitra in his History of

Jessore and Khulna, Part II, which is the latest writing on Pratapaditya, notices these Portuguese references brought together by Rev. Hosten.

In 1919, Mr. J. A. Campos published his "History of the Portuguese in Bengal." This book also deals with the period of the "Bara Bhuiyans" but tells us nothing new. Mr. Campos, however, points out certain mistakes in the translation from Du Jarric published in the Appendix of "Pratapaditya" by Babu Nikhilnath Ray. (Page 68, f.n.).

The Bengali writers on "Bara Bhuiyan" should now be noticed.

The first name worth mentioning is that of the late Kailash Chandra Sinha, who wrote a series of articles in the Bengali Journal *Bharati*, criticising and supplementing the articles of Dr. Wise printed in the J.A.S.B. of 1874 and 1875: I have not seen these articles of Kailash Babu. The next publication worth mentioning is a booklet called "Svarnagramer Itihash" (স্বর্ণ গ্রামের ইতিহাস) by the late Babu Svarup Chandra Roy. This book contains some information about Isa Khan and his territories. (Published 1296 B.S., 1st Nov. 1890.) About 1308 B.S., Pandit Satya Charan Shastri published his "Pratapaditya." This book is a fanciful account of Pratapaditya and is of little historical value. In 1312 B.S. (=1905 A.D.) Babu Kedarnath Majumdar published his "Mayaman-Sinher Itihash" (ময়মনসিংহের ইতিহাস), i.e., History of Mymensingh. This book also contains a general outline of the history of Isa Khan, which is somewhat in advance of Svarup Babu's account.

In 1313 B.S. (=1906 A.D.) Babu Nikhilnath Ray brought out his *magnum opus*, a painstaking edition of Ram Ram Basu's *Pratapaditya Charit* printed in 1802 at the Sree Rampur Mission Press. Basu's work is biographical in nature and is considered to be the earliest remarkable prose work in Bengali literature. He wrote in a period when historical criticism was hardly known, but yet he makes some remarkable deviations from the poetical account of Pratapaditya given half-a-century before him in the *Annada-Mangal* by the poet Bharatchandra, who lived in the days of Clive and Siraj-ud-daulla. Bharat Chandra represents Manasimha as the Subadar by whose hands Pratapaditya fell. But Basu correctly gives the name of the conqueror as Islam Khan. Bharat Chandra's account appears to embody the popular confused memories of events connected with Pratapaditya, whereas Basu's narrative is more historical in character. But though Basu supplies us with a few historical particulars at variance with popular legends, which have been proved to be historically true, and though his account is practically the most important source, on which we have to draw for an account of the predecessors of Pratapaditya, his account of the career of Pratapaditya is for the most part fanciful in character. Babu Nikhilnath Ray prepared an annotated edition of Basu's work with a learned preface and a number of useful Appendices. His is undoubtedly the most serious attempt to recover the true history of Pratapaditya from the mire of legends and it must be said to his credit that his historical insight nearly succeeded in getting at the truth. At the time of the publication, Bengal had entered on a new life, thanks to the Partition of Bengal, and Pratapaditya had become

a great national hero, to whom was ascribed the dream of an independent Bengal in the day of yore. Pratapaditya's fanciful achievements were visualised before the eager nationalists of Bengal in a drama by the great playwright, the late Kshirodprasad Vidyavinod, and no drama had a greater success. It continued to draw packed houses night after night and soon the drama was staged and re-staged in every mofussil town and in every considerable village. It is really remarkable that Nikhil Babu could keep his head cool in the face of such widespread enthusiasm and produce a critical and historical study of the deified Pratapaditya, which came nearest the truth. That a keen-sighted historian like Nikhil Babu failed to get at the whole truth must be ascribed to the overpowering influences of the period.

From 1307 B.S. to 1310 B.S. Babu Anandanath Ray of Faridpur wrote a number of articles in the Bengali Magazines *Nirmalya* and *Navyabharat*. These articles were sent to the press in a book-form in 1312 B.S. (1905 A.D.) and were finally published in 1318 B.S. Ananda Babu gives us some new information and his commendable labours in the face of many adverse circumstances deserve every praise. But this book lacks order and is deficient in historical criticism.

Babu Jogendranath Gupta's Kedar Ray appeared in 1320 B.S. (1913 A.D.). This book contains little that is new from a historical point of view. But the accounts of Kedar Ray's family, of his companions, of the places connected with his history are useful. The book leaves an impression on the reader that the author has not taken sufficient pains.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar's articles on the Bhuiyans, based on Bahar-i-stan and on another unpublished Persian manuscript, are of outstanding merit and for the first time they supply us with contemporary and very detailed account of Islam Khan's wars with the Bhuiyans, who had succeeded in maintaining their independence for a third of a century during the reign of even an aggressive Emperor like Akbar. The following is a list of his articles.

1. প্রতাপাদিত্য সম্বন্ধে কিছু নতুন সংবাদ। (Some new informations about Pratapaditya.) Prabasi, Aswin, 1326 B.S.
2. প্রতাপাদিত্যের পতন। (Fall of Pratapaditya.) Prabasi Karttika, 1327 B.S. (2).
3. প্রতাপাদিত্যের সভায় খ্রীষ্টান পাদরী। (The Christian missionaries in the Court of Pratapaditya). Prabasi, Ashadha, 1328 B.S. This article is based on Du Jarrić's famous history and contains nothing new beyond what had already been published by Nikhil Babu in an Appendix to his Pratapaditya.

(2) In this article, in Sec. 9, which deals with the question whether Pratapaditya did really murder Carvalho, the famous Portuguese free-lance Captain, Prof. Sarkar falls into a curious blunder when he says on the authority of Bahar-i-stan, that Carvalho is found joining the Mughals as late as 1614 and thus he could not have been murdered by Pratapaditya in 1602. From his own writing (বঙ্গ মগ ও ফিরিকী, Prabasi, 1329 B.S., p. 664-667) it would appear that this Carvalho was altogether a different person. The non-appearance of Carvalho, the senior, in the political arena of Bengal after 1602 ought to be a sufficiently convincing proof of the assertion of the Portuguese Missionaries that Carvalho was murdered by Pratapaditya.

4. বঙ্গের শেষ পাঠান বীর। (The last Pathan Hero (=Osman) of Bengal (3). Prabasi, Agrahayana, 1328 B.S.

5. বাঙ্গালার স্বাধীন জমিদারদের পতন। (The fall of the independent zamindars of Bengal.) Prabasi, Bhadra, 1329 B.S.

6. বঙ্গে মগ ও ফিরিঙ্গী। (The Maghs and the Firingis in Bengal.) Prabasi, Phalguna, 1329 B.S.

History of Jessore and Khulna, Part II, by Prof. Satish Chandra Mitra is the latest publication (pub. 1329 B.S.) that deals in detail with Pratapaditya and more briefly with all the Bhuiyans. This book is a monument of patient industry and local investigation has enabled the author to gather together many interesting pieces of information and topographical details. But this elaborate attempt is lacking in historical insight and does not even go the distance already reached by Nikhil Babu. Mr. Leo Faulkner in his article—"Where Pratapaditya reigned" in the *Calcutta Review*, 1920, p. 186ff, had pronounced on Pratapaditya in the following words:—"He was a brave man that is certain sure but in my considered opinion he was a buccaneer on filibustering intent rather than a patriot actuated by motives disinterestedly pure." Satish Babu has ill-succeeded in controverting it, though he occupied himself in doing so. Indeed Satish Babu's attitude towards Pratapaditya is like a doting but justice-loving grandmother, whose heart, however straight, is led astray by the bias of affection. If he had the courage to seek for truth regarding Pratapaditya, I am sure, he would not have missed it.

We surely want models to guide us in the path of regeneration,—models of heroism, of nobleness, of self-sacrifice and above all, of patriotism. If the past history of our country does not hold any of these up to us, our clear duty is to lead our lives in such a manner that we ourselves may be the models for the future. If, with the best of motives, we attempt to cheat ourselves by believing as true what is not true, if we fail to deal out condemnation in emphatic terms, where condemnation is clearly deserved, I cannot believe that such propaganda history will bring us ultimate good. A true historian should be much above such failings.

At the same time, I cannot but say that the thirty-eight years' (1575-1612 A.D.) struggle for independence of the Bengal Chiefs has not received the recognition it deserves. Rana Pratap of Mewar spent his whole life in fighting Akbar and ended his days sword in hand and independent. We have almost deified Rana Pratap and there is no name more honoured from one end of the country to the other than Rana Pratap's. But what then have the Bengal Chiefs done to deserve this oblivion? They did the same: they fought with the greatest generals of Akbar, the very generals who had fought Rana Pratap. Rana Pratap was strong in cavalry, the

(3) This article duly acknowledges the fact, that the correct history of Osman, who made his last stand in 1612 in Sylhet, was for the first time recovered by the commendable industry of Babu Upendra Chandra Guha, B.A., B.T. of the Hare School, Calcutta, who wrote an article on Osman in the "*Protibha*" for 1320 B.S. based on the local tradition of Sylhet and on some contemporary *sanads* that he had discovered in some Muslim Zamindar family of Sylhet.

Bengalees were strong in war-boats. The imperial generals were defeated again and again and driven out of Bengal. Bengal was never at peace and constant guerilla warfare was maintained throughout the reign of Akbar, with occasional disasters to the imperial arms. It was not before 1613, in the reign of Jahangir that Bengal was completely subjugated. And all these the Bengal Chiefs accomplished with the children of the soil of Bengal and not with hirelings from Nepal or Rajputana. Yet Bengalees are a non-military race unworthy of receiving a soldier's training, though their Chiefs and their forefathers had fought and maintained their independence for more than a third of a century.

15033.

§2. *How the number of the Chiefs came to be fixed at "Twelve."*

Prof. S. C. Mitra has some pertinent things to say on the subject and we would do well to begin by quoting him in translation:—

"It is traditionally known that immediately before or after the conquest of Bengal by the Mughals, twelve such Chiefs rose into prominence. They parcelled out the whole of Bengal, particularly lower Bengal among themselves and Bengal of those days came to be known as the country of the Bara Bhuiyans or twelve Chiefs. But it can hardly be said that their number was exactly 12 and all those 12 flourished at the same time. . . .

'Twelve' is a sacred number to the Hindus and the assemblage of 12 Chiefs is a peculiar feature of India. Twelve subordinate Chiefs are spoken of from very ancient times. In Manu-Samhita, the emperor has around him 12 Chiefs holding different relations with him. (Manu. Chap. VII, Verses 155, 156.) The powerful Kings spoken of in Old Bengali Literature sat in their courts surrounded by 12 Chieftains. In Assam also, like Bengal, twelve Chiefs or ministers were essential for the constitution of a State In Arrakan and Siam also, the coronation of a King was accompanied by the installation of the 12 Chiefs under him. Even now in our country any public function in which many people take part is said to be *Bara-iyari* or a twelve-men undertaking. There is no rule that only twelve persons are to take part in it. The expression 'Bara-Bhuiyan' also appears to be a similar one. An indefinite number of Bhuiyans obtained ascendancy in Bengal and they were therefore called "Bara-Bhuiyan." In fact, it does not appear that their number was exactly 12. Many writers have attempted to enumerate the Twelve Bhuiyans specifically, but no two lists agree."

History of Jessore and Khulna, Pt. II, pp. 20-22.

In the passage quoted above, there is unfortunately a confusion of issues. Regarding the Bengal Bhuiyans, which explanation is true? Was their number fixed at 12 because 12 is a sacred number to the Hindus and because there were, accordingly, 12 Chiefs exactly? Or does 12 signify an indefinite number?

I think Satish Babu is right in his second contention that number *twelve* is made to denote an indefinite number. It became a custom to speak of 'Twelve' Bhuiyans, whenever one had to refer to them, because their number was indefinite. The contemporary Western writers refer to them as 'Twelve'

and even Abul Fazl calls them 'Twelve.' (Akbarname, Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, p. 648.) They are also traditionally known as twelve in Bengal. But whence was this partiality for this particular number 12 derived even to signify an indefinite number? Are we justified in holding that it was the prescription of Manusamhita that an overlord should have 12 subordinate Chiefs under him that was obeyed in Bengal and continued down to the 16th century A.D.? Let us consider what was the condition of things before the rise of the so-called Twelve Bhuiyans.

Little is known of Pre-Gupta rule in Bengal. During the rule of the Gupta Emperors, Eastern India was divided into two or three big divisions called *Bhukti* and an *Uparika* or governor was placed over each of them. The *Bhuktis* were divided into a number of *Vishayas* or districts and a *Vishayapati* or District officer was placed in charge of each district. A division called *Mandala* is also met with, but the mutual relationship of a *Mandala* and a *Vishaya* has not yet been ascertained. During the rule of the post-Gupta princes of Karnna-suvarnna, of the Palas, Varmmas and Senas, *Uparika* and *Vishayapati* are still enumerated in the list of the government officers. With the shrinking of the size of the kingdoms, *Uparikas* probably became only names, but the district officers kept their positions up to the end of the Hindu rule in Bengal. I do not find any place for "Twelve Chieftains" in this fabric of Government, nor is there any evidence to prove that the *Vishayapatis* or district officers were only twelve in number.

When the Muhammadans occupied Bengal, and when powerful princes like Ilyas Shah, Sikandar Shah or Hussain Shah were at the head of administration with well-organised machinery of government, the whole country was held in military occupation and the only change that appears to have been effected was the supplanting of the *Vishayapatis* of the Hindu days by a number of Jaigirdars, each of whom was made responsible for the part of the country which was apportioned to him. But we have no proof that these Jagirdars were only twelve in number. How is it possible then that just in the beginning of the Mughal rule, we meet with Manu's number 12 in the enumeration of the Bhuiyans that held the country? Was there a Hindu Revival? This would have been a plausible supposition if all the Chiefs were Hindus. But it is from contemporary writers that we learn that at least nine of the Chiefs were Muhammadans. How then to account for this number 12?

I think we have to turn to the History of Assam for a solution of this riddle. The 13th century of the Christian Era is a very dark period in the history of Assam. Towards the middle of this century the Ahoms, under their famous Shan leader Suka-fa entered Assam through the eastern frontier. The Ahoms had a keen historical sense and they recorded their history from the earliest times in compilations called *Burunjis*. The *Burunjis* contain fables towards the beginning, but some of them are very dependable histories for dates and events for the historical period. According to the *Burunjis*, there was a Chhutiya Kingdom in Eastern Assam, north of the Brahmaputra,

when the Ahoms entered Assam. A Kachhari Kingdom was on the south of the Brahmaputra. During this period, what is now Rangpur and Cooch Behar was comprised within a powerful Kingdom called Kamta. The intermediate territory between the Kingdom of Kamta on the west and the Chhutiya and the Kachhari Kingdoms on the east was occupied by a number of petty principalities, and these were known as the Kingdoms of the "Twelve Bhuiyans." These Bhuiyans were able to maintain their independence for a period of about 70 years. (Social History of Kamrup by N. Bose, Vol. I., p. 248.)

Two traditions are recorded regarding the origin of these Bhuiyans. One tradition says that when Ratna Simha, the son of Arimatta, the last Kahatriya prince of Kamrup (Assam), was dethroned by Samudra, the minister of Arimatta (1238 A.D.) the Kingdom of Kamrup passed on to Samudra's son Manohara. Lakshmi, the daughter of Manohara, obtained two sons Santanu and Samanta through divine intercession. Each of these two sons is said to have become the father of 12 children. Santanu's 12 sons gradually came to occupy the district of Nowgong, south of the Brahmaputra. Samanta's twelve sons, on the other hand, occupied Lakhimpur district, north of the Brahmaputra, and both of these sets came to be known as the Twelve Bhuiyans. During the reign of Sukhang-fa, the Ahom King (1293-1332 A.D.), these Bhuiyans submitted to him. These Bhuiyans are called the *Adi* or the original Bhuiyans.

Another tradition commemorates altogether a different set of people. The King who was on the throne of Kamta in 1314 A.D. is called Durlabha-narayana. (Social History of Kamrup by N. Bose, Vol. II, p. 6.) In order to protect his Eastern frontier from the depredations of the Ahoms, he posted a number of Brahmin and Kayastha wardens of the marches over the frontier. Even in the time of Durlabha-narayana, they succeeded in founding petty semi-independent principalities. After Durlabha's death, they became completely independent and came to be known as the "Bara-Bhuiyans." They maintained their independence for about two centuries and when Bisva-simha founded the Kingdom of Cooch Behar by about 1515 A.D., he set about subduing these Bara Bhuiyans one by one. All the coins of Nara-narayana son of Bisva-simha, hitherto discovered, have the date of Saka 1477 or 1555 A.D. This is undoubtedly the year of Nara-narayana's accession. So the suppression of the Bara-Bhuiyans by Bisva-simha is to be dated about 1515-1555 A.D. These Bhuiyans were without doubt different from the Bhuiyans of Central Assam, the descendants of Samudra and Samanta.

The rise of the Bara-Bhuiyans of Bengal is to be dated from 1576 A.D., the year of the fall of Daud, the last Karrani King of Bengal. In Assam history, we find that when the overland disappeared or became weak, a number of petty Chiefs arose and became independent. Their common appellation was Bara-Bhuiyan. When in 1576, with the fall of Daud, conditions became similar in Bengal, the suppression of the Bara-Bhuiyans of Assam by Bisva-Simha was still fresh in everybody's memory. And thus

the independent Chiefs that arose in Bengal promptly received the name of Bara-Bhuiyans on the analogy of Assam. This appears to me to be the most plausible explanation of the nomenclature.

The Bara-Bhuiyans of Arakan, however, appears to have been brought into existence, following the dictates of Manu, as Brahmanism was a late importation in Arrakan. It was considered an indispensable part of the fabric of the State to have exactly 12 Chiefs under the overlord. The Bara-Bhuiyans of Assam and Bengal are products of anarchy, whereas those of Arrakan were the products of peaceful Statecraft.

§3. WHO WERE THE BARA-BHUIYANS?

I hope, I have made it clear that the number twelve, as applied to the Bhuiyans does not mean 'twelve' but an indefinite number. But of these, we are concerned only with those who were really independent and had continuously fought with the imperial forces to maintain that independence. Only a few Chiefs pass this test and they are Osman, Masum Kabuli, Isa Khan Masnad-i-Ali and Kedar Ray. The omission of the well-known name of Pratapaditya will surprise many of my readers. As far as I have been able to understand and sift historical evidence, I have obtained no proofs to show that Pratapaditya ever fought with the forces of Akbar. Pratapaditya of Jessore and Anantamanikya of Bhulua appear to me to have fought the Mughals for the first and the last time in 1612 and 1613 in the reign of Jahangir when they had no other recourse but to fight, and they went down in the contest. Mukundaram of Bhushna never fought with the Mughals and Ram Chandra of Bacla submitted on the first onslaught. The dreams of an independent and united Bengal, of patriotism and valour that have been ascribed to Pratapaditya, appear to me to be mere day-dreams of those writers who ascribed them.

Those of the minor Bhuiyans that fought in this long-drawn struggle for independence, will be named in their proper places.

From Prof. Sarkar's articles based on Bahar-i-stan, we give here a list of the Chiefs that are found still struggling for independence in the reign of Jahangir and who opposed Islam Khan's attempts at subduing them.

1. *Osman and his brothers.* Driven out from Orissa, Osman and his brothers had established themselves east of the Brahmaputra at Bokainagar in the Mymensing district with the aid of Isa Khan. After Isa Khan's death in 1599 A.D., they allied themselves with Musa Khan, son of Isa Khan and enjoyed practical independence for a decade. In 1611, Islam Khan succeeded in driving him out of Bokainagar and Osman crossed the hills of Laur and took shelter in Sylhet where he was finally pursued and killed in 1612 A.D.

2. *Isa Khan's sons Musa, Daud, A'dullah and Mahmud and Isa Khan's brother's son Alaol Khan.* As will be brought out later on, Isa Khan was undoubtedly the most powerful Bhuiyan of Bengal and the backbone of the struggle for independence. He was master of vast territories comprising half of the present Tippera district, half of the present Dacca

district, the whole of Mymensing, minus Susang and a portion given to Osman, and perhaps portions of Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna. Isa Khan's sons inherited these territories and led the opposition to Islam Khan's advance.

3. *Masum Khan Kabuli's son Mirza Mumin Khan.* Masum Khan had his capital at Chatmohar in the Pabna district. The mosque at Chatmohar contains an inscription dated in 989 Hijri=1581 A.D. in which Masum Khan is spoken of as an independent Sultan and God's blessing is invoked for the perpetuity of his kingdom. This Masum Khan is commonly known as Kabuli and had a most extraordinary career, details of which will be given in the proper place.

Of the seven sixteenth century cannon described by Mr. Stapleton, one has a short Persian inscription on it which Mr. Stapleton read as *Sarkar Ma'bud Khan*. On re-examining the inscription, I discovered that the correct reading is "*Sarkar Ma'sum Khan*," which, without doubt, refers to the Government of this Ma'sum Khan Kabuli, and the cannon evidently belonged to him.

4. *Dariya Khan, son of Alam Khan.* No details are available.

5. *Madhu Ray, zamindar of Khalshi.* In map No. 16 of Rennel's Bengal Atlas, the position of Khalshi is shown. Jafarganj was a place of note in the time of Rennel and it is shown near the place where the river Dhalesvari takes its rise from the Padma or the Ganges. Khalshi was about five miles east of Jafarganj. The place still exists though numerous changes in the courses of the rivers in this part make it doubtful whether the old place is still intact or the old name has been transferred to a new place. In the Main Circuit Map of 1857, Khalshi is placed to the west of the *pargana* of Chandpratap. To the north-west of Khalshi is shown the *pargana* of Sinduri, I have not yet had the opportunity to ascertain by local investigation if there is still a zamindar family at Khalshi and if there is any memory of Madhu Ray in the village.

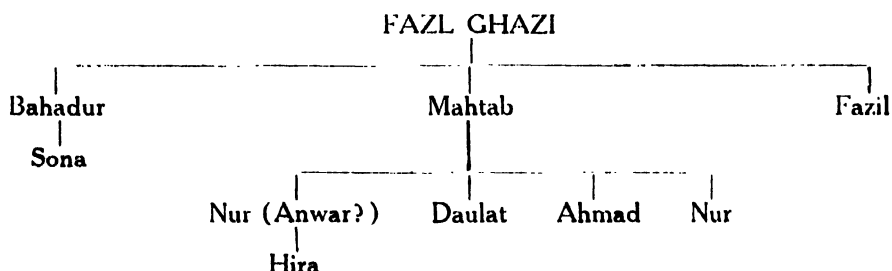
6. *Raja Ray, zamindar of Shahzadpur.* It is a well-known place in the district of Pabna. For the antiquities of the place *vide* "On the antiquities and traditions of Shahzadpur" by Maulvi Abdul Wali, J.A.S.B., Part I, No. 3, 1904. It is not clear to which family Raja Ray belonged.

7. *Nabud (Binod?) Ray of Chandpratap.* Chandpratap is a big *pargana* in the northern portion of the Manikganj Sub-Division of the Dacca District, extending over both the northern and the southern banks of the Dhalesvari river. The Ray zemindars of Rowile are generally known as the zemindars of Chandpratap. The fortunes of the family were founded by one Sanjaya Hazra. Two sons of Sanjaya are shown in the genealogy of the Rays of Rowile, viz.: Gandharbba and Srichandra. Srichandra had two sons, Madan and Kamal. The present members of the Ray family of Rowile are 10th or 11th in descent from Madan. No one with the name Binod Ray is met with in the genealogical list. I suggest that Nabud corrected by Prof. Sarkar as Binod should be read as Madan. Nabud gives no meaning and is certainly not a Sanskrit word.

8. (a) *Bahadur Ghazi.*
- (b) *Sona Ghazi.*
- (c) *Anwar Ghazi.*

These Ghazis undoubtedly belonged to the Ghazi family of Bhowal, which is a very well-known *pargana* of the Dacca district. Wise, in his account of the Bhuiyans, has referred to Bahadur Ghazi and has also noticed a mosque founded by Bahadur on the western bank of the Lakshya, near present Kaliganj. Wise says that Bahadur was the head of the Ghazi family at the time of Akbar's attempts at subduing Bengal. According to Wise, Bahadur's son was Fazl Ghazi, but the reverse appears to have been the case. There is a bit of evidence to prove that Fazl Ghazi was a contemporary of Sher Shah. On the cannon with Sher Shah's inscription dated 949 Hijri, now in the Dacca Museum, there is another short inscription to show that the cannon was a present from Fazl Ghazi (4). So Fazl Ghazi was most probably the father of Bahadur Ghazi, our number 8 (a). Rouse calls the son of Bahadur by the name of Jona Ghazi (J.A.S.B., 1874, p. 201, footnote) in which we can easily recognise Sona Ghazi, over number 8 (b).

There is a document still in the possession of the descendants of the Ghazis of Bhowal dated in the 2nd year of Aurangzib's reign. (*Dacca Review*—1911-12, p. 221.) With the help of this document the genealogy of the Ghazis of Bhowal can be made out as follows:—



It would appear from this document that probably in the early days of Akbar's rule, Bahadur Ghazi had obtained the settlement of the Pargana of Bhowal on condition that he would maintain for the Emperor 35 war-boats of the *Sundar* and *Kosha* class, at an annual expenditure of Rs. 48,379. As we find him on the side of Musa Khan, fighting the Imperial forces during the viceroyalty of Islam Khan, he must have thrown off his allegiance later on. There is no Anwar Ghazi in the list compiled above, but as Mahtab possibly did not have two sons with the same name, I suspect that the first Nur should be Anwar.

Besides these Ghazis of the main line, we hear of Chand Ghazi, after whom is named the *pargana* of Chandpratap; of Sultan Ghazi, Selim Ghazi,

(4) "Note on Seven Sixteenth Century Cannon recently discovered in the Dacca District," by Mr. H. E. Stapleton, J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 367ff. Mr. Stapleton read this shorter inscription as "Rifat Ghazi". But in an article of the same name, Khan Bahadur Sayid Aulad Hasan correctly read it as—"Az Fazl Ghazi, ' i.e., From Fazl Ghazi. (*Dacca Review*, 1911, p. 219.)

Kasim Ghazi and Tala Ghazi who gave their names to the *parganas* of Sultanpratap, Kasimpur and Talipabad respectively. Tala or Tila Ghazi, zamindar of Bhowal is spoken of in the Akbarnama as having helped Khan Jahan in 1578 in his disastrous retreat after his first encounter with the Bhuiyans. (Akbarnama, III, P. 278-80). How these Ghazis are connected with the main line is not known. If the Ghazis ever possessed all these *parganas*, they must have lost them during the long reign of Akbar, if not earlier. Chandpratap is found in the possession of Nabud or Binod when Islam Khan came to Bengal as Governor.

The position of Chandpratap has already been located. Selimpratap is indicated by Beams ("Notes of Akbar's Subas, with reference to Ain-i-Akbari, J.R.A.S., 1896, p. 83) on the map attached to his article as lying north of Chandpratap. The *parganas* of Kasimpur, Sultanpratap and Talipabad are situated roughly in the area between the rivers Bansi and Dhalesvari on the west and the Turag on the east. In the southern portion of this area lie Sultanpratap on the banks of the Bansi and the Dhalesvari, and Kasimpur on the banks of the Turag. North of this area is Talipabad. Thus Sultanpratap lies to the east of Chandpratap. But from the fact that the *pargana* of Sultanpratap appears to the west of Chandpratap also (Pabna Gazetteer, 1923, p. 90) it would appear that Sultanpratap is what is termed a *Chhita-pargana*, i.e., a scattered *pargana*.

9. *Palwan*. He is called Zamindar of Matang. I cannot locate him.

10. *Haji Shamsuddin Boghdadi*. No details are recorded.

11. *Majlis Kutab*. Zamindar of Fatehabad, modern Faridpur. In the beginning of the Mughal rule, Murad Khan was the Zagirdar of Fatehabad. He died about 1580 A.D. and his sons were one day assassinated by Mukundaram, Zamindar of Bhushna, lured by a false invitation. So Fatehabad was for some years in the possession of Mukundaram. But how Mukundaram was ousted and Majlis Kutab came into possession is not recorded. Akbar-nama speaks of Bhushna falling into the hands of the enemies and probably Fatehabad came into the possession of the rebellious Chiefs at the same time, and was apportioned to Majlis Kutab. When Islam Khan sent forces against Majlis Kutab, Musa Khan sent Majlis help in the shape of a number of war-boats. This shows that they were in alliance.

12. *Ram Chandra*, Zamindar of Bacla or modern Backerganj. Son of Kandarpa, son-in-law of Pratapaditya, murderer of Lakshmana-manikya, Zamindar of Bhulua.

13. *Pitambar and Ananta*, Zamindar of Chila-Jowar. Pitambar is the progenitor of the Putia Raj family of Rajshahi. A road branches off from the embanked road that runs from Natore to Rajshahi from a point midway between these two places and goes south to Sarda on the Ganges. Putia is situated on this branch road, about a mile from the point where it branches off from the main road. Putia is included in the *Pargana* of Laskarpur. As far as I have been able to ascertain, Chila-Jowar was a part of the spacious *pargana* of Bhaturia and was situated on the Ganges near

about the familiar station of Sara-ghat. Thus Pitambar was master of considerable portions of Pabna and Rajshahi districts. His descendants still retain the old Zamindari.

The family tradition about Pitambar is that he was granted the settlement of the *pargana* of Laskarpur by Akbar. From Bahar-i-Stan, it would appear that Pitambar was an obedient vassal in the beginning, but stopped paying revenue just before Islam Khan's campaign against Pratapaditya and had to be reduced to submission on the way. Pitambar's younger brother was Nilambar and he had a son named Ananta. Bahar-i-Stan, in all probability, speaks of this Ananta.

14. *Alabaksh of Alaipur.* This place is situated on the Ganges, 12 miles south-east of Putia. Laskar Khan, who is said to have given his name to Laskarpur was a resident of Alaipur. When Laskar Khan rebelled, his lands were given to Pitambar. Even to-day, the rents of the tenants of Alaipur are received first on the *Punyaha* day at Putia to signify the precedence of Alaipur over all other places in the Zamindari.

Alabaksh appears to have been a descendant of Laskar Khan, and was undoubtedly a man of influence. When the Mughal forces advanced to chastise Pitambar, he took shelter with Alabaksh, but the Mughal Commander did not spare even Alabaksh, whose forts were all captured. The existence of the Putia Zamindari is a proof of the fact that Pitambar succeeded in extricating himself, but how Alabaksh fared is not recorded.

15. *Ananta-manikya of Bhulua.* Bhulua, as is well-known, is modern Noakhali.

The history of the Chiefs of Bhulua is very obscure. The accounts of Dr. Wise, of Babu Anandanath Ray, and of Babu Kailash Chandra Simha (*Rajmala*) have very little of history in them. The history of Bhulua is closely connected with the history of Tippera, but unfortunately many of the dates of the Kings of Tippera, as given in Kailas Babu's *Rajmala*, cannot be depended upon. The dates of Bijaya Manikya, Amara Manikya, Rajadharma Manikya and Yasodhara-Manikya, as given in the *Rajmala* are all wrong.

According to Kailas Babu, the Chiefs of Bhulua were the biggest feudatories of the Kings of Tippera and had the privilege of putting the consecration mark on the forehead of a new King at the time of his coronation. Balarama Sur, Chief of Bhulua refused either to submit to or to anoint Amara-Manikya in the foregoing manner on Amara's coronation, on the plea that Amara was not of good birth. On this Amara invaded Bhulua and brought Balaram into subjection. (*Rajmala*, p. 399.) According to Kailas Babu, Balarama was the son of the famous Lakshmana-Manikya. But Balaram appears to have never existed. Rev. Long in the summary of the *Rajmala* published by him (J. A. S. B., 1850) probably through mistake wrote "Zamindar of Balaram" in place of "Zamindar of Bhulua" and Kailas Babu without consulting the original *Rajmala*, appears to have made Balaram into a distinct personage and king! In Vidyavinod's edition of the *Rajmala*, the name appears as Durlabha-narayan. Kailas Babu

makes Amara-Manikya contemporary of Islam Khan, Subadar of Jahangir. This is also wrong.

It is well-known that the coins of the Kings of Tippera of this period were minted generally on the occasion of their coronation. The discovery of the coins of Amara's son Rajadhara, which all bear the date of 1508 *Saka*, and of Yasodhara, son of Rajadhara, which all bear the date of 1522 *Saka*, has given us the exact date of the accession of these two Kings. (N. K. Bhattasali. "On the coinage of Tippera," J.A.S.B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement, XXXVI, p. 51-52.) Rajadhara came to the throne in 1508 *Saka* and Yasodhara in 1522 *Saka*=1600 A.D. The metrical *Rajmala*, (Chandrodaya Vidyavinoda's edition, p. 243) gives the year of the accession of Yasodhara as 1524 *Saka* and says that he was defeated by Nawab Fateh Jang sent by Shah Selim (Jahangir) after Yasodhara had reigned for 21 years. Nawab Fatehjang is evidently Ibrahim Khan Fatehjang who was appointed Subadar of Bengal on the 10th April, 1617 by Jahangir. (Tuzak-i-Jahangiri. Translation by Rogers and Beveridge. Royal Asiatic Society's edition, Vol. I, p. 373.) Ibrahim Khan died fighting the rebellious prince Khurram at Rajmahal. The dates given by Stewart for the assumption of office by Ibrahim Khan, and his death, are 1618 and 1622 respectively. Both these dates are wrong. The fight with Khurram took place in the 19th year of the reign of Jahangir—which began on March 10, 1624. (Op. cit: Vol. II., p. 294.) By the 1st of Khurdad=15th April, 1624, Ibrahim Khan sent a despatch to Jahangir informing him that Khurram had entered Orissa. (Ditto. p. 298.) So Ibrahim possibly died in May 1624, and his tenure of service in Bengal extended from April 1617—May 1624.

When did Fatehjang conquer Tippera? The rebellion of Shah Jahan broke out towards the middle of 1622 and by January 1623 (1st of Isfandarmaz. Memoirs, II, p. 249), he was in active hostility to his father and it was hardly the time for the Governor of Bengal to indulge in conquests. Yasodhara's coins show that he came to the throne in 1522 *Saka*=1600 A.D. and though the year of the accession is wrongly pushed on to 1524 *Saka* in the metrical *Rajmala*, we may take Yasodhara's period of rule, viz: 21 years, recorded in it as correct. Thus we may conclude that Tippera was conquered and Yasodhara taken prisoner in 1621 A.D.

Thus Yasodhara's period of reign is fixed with a very great degree of certainty as 1600—1621 A.D. Rajadhara came to the throne in 1508 *Saka*=1586 A.D. Amar-Manikya must therefore have reigned before 1586 A.D. Now take into consideration the following equations:—

Amar (died 1586 A.D.) conquered Durllabha-narayan.

Islam Khan (1609-1613) conquered Ram Chandra of Bacla, the conqueror of Lakshman Manikya of Bhulua.

Islam Khan also conquered Ananta Manikya of Bhulua in 1613.

Yasodhara (1600-1621) conquered Gandharbbanarayan, King of Bhulua. (*Rajmala*, Vidyavinoda's edition, p. 242).

The date of the conquest of Gandharbbha by Jasodhara is not given in the metrical *Rajmala*, but probably it was after the disappearance of the

Zabardasht viceroy Islam Khan from the arena in 1613. The title "*Manikya*" assumed by Ananta who fell in 1613 shows that he was the King next to the powerful King Lakshmana Manikya and not Gandharbba with the ordinary suffix of *Narayan*.

Thus the sequence of the Bhulua Kings works out as follows:—

Durlabhanarayan (defeated by Amar).

|
Lakshmana-Manikya (captured and defeated by Ramchandra of Bacla).

|
Ananta-Manikya (defeated by Islam Khan).

|
Gandharbba-Narayan (defeated by Yasodhara).

What the relationship between these Kings was, it is difficult to tell.

Of these Kings, Lakshmana-Manikya was by far the most famous.

He was an author of considerable repute, and wrote a number of Sanskrit dramas. Kailash Babu speaks of his drama *Bikhyata-vijaya*. (*Raj-mala*, p. 396). I obtained for the Dacca University a Ms. of another drama by Raghunath Court-pandit of Lakshmana-manikya, called *Kautuka-ratnakara*. The Ms. is complete in 37 folia. (Dacca University Ms. S. No. 1871). I found another Ms. of this drama in the Tippera State Collection of Mss. There is a copy of the Ms. of *Bikhyata-vijaya*, in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the "Report for the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts," 1895-1900, by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, another drama by Lakshmana-Manikya, viz: *Kubulayasra-Charita* is mentioned.

This erudite prince is said to have possessed also Herculean physical strength and to have met his death under very tragic circumstances. Ram Chandra the ruler of Bacla entertained no friendly feeling towards Lakshmana-Manikya. All the same, when once Ram Chandra came on a visit to Bhulua, Lakshmana-Manikya, like a true gentleman, went to his boat to welcome him. The treacherous Ram Chandra is, thereupon, reported to have made Lakshmana prisoner and taken him to Bacla, where he was executed. The death of this learned hero in this way at the hands of a traitor, even now arouses in the heart of a feeling student of history a sense of unforgettable injury and bitter hatred against the perpetrator of such a crime. Both Rama Chandra and his father-in-law Pratapaditya appear to have been unscrupulous politicians of the worst type for whom it is difficult to feel any pride or respect.

I have not included Pratapaditya of Jessore and Satrajit son of Mukundaram of Bhushna in this list as both of them were imperial partisans and saw Islam Khan with presents and offered him assistance when Islam Khan was moving from Rajmahal towards Dacca in 1609 A.D.

N. K. BHATTASALI.

The East India Company's Commercial Mission

THROUGH THE WILDS OF BURMA IN THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE period in the history of the British administration of India from the commencement of the rule of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to the end of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland (1828-42), besides being an epoch in administrative changes and financial reforms (1) was also one of Embassies and Missions. From the Miscellaneous Foreign Department papers which are preserved in the Imperial Record Department, it may be gathered that these Missions were conducted by the Officers of the East India Company from this country to the different parts of Asia for the purpose of expanding either the commercial or the political supremacy of the British. Among these Missions, stand conspicuous those led by Major M. Symes and Mr. J. Crawford to Ava in 1803 and 1827, by Capt. G. F. Sadleir to Arabia in 1819, by Lieut. W. Pottinger to Sind during 1831-3, by Capt. A. Burnes to Cabul in 1836, by Col. C. M. Wade to the Courts of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Nawab of Bahawalpur during 1831-39, by Dr. D. Richardson to the Chiefs of the wild tracts of Burma and to the Manipur Frontier during 1830-39, by Capt. S. F. Hannay to the north of Ava during 1835-6, by Capt. W. McLeod to the Frontier Provinces of China in 1837; and last but not least, by Capt. J. Abbott to Khiva in 1840.

2. The papers connected with the accounts of these Missions are numerous in the archives of the Imperial Record Department and they read like a romance. They show the indefatigable energy, perseverance and tact of the British Officers who led the Missions. The papers also show that among all the European nations who were contesting for dominance in the East between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, the British were the only people who survived in the long run and continued to prosper till they built a mighty Empire in the East. The records afford ample evidence as to the truth of the well-known saying "the survival of the fittest." One such paper (2) is concerned with the account of the adventurous journey of Dr. D. Richardson through the wilds of Burma in 1835.

(1) The abolition of *Sati* in 1829, the suppression of Thagi, the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1833, the annexation of Coorg in 1834, the liberty of the Press, the imposition of duties on the opium of Malwa, etc.

(2) Rev. Dept. (Govt. of Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept., 1835, No. 2 (Appendix A).

3. The materials of the present paper have been taken from the records which deal with the accounts of the commercial Missions which Dr. D. Richardson and Capt. W. McLeod undertook from Moulmein through the unknown lands of Burma during the years 1835-7.

4. It will, perhaps, not be out of place to mention why Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod set out on their tour from Moulmein. The fact is about the year 1750 the scion of a new dynasty was governing Burma. It was founded by Alompra who made Ava his capital. The dynasty of Alompra after having subjugated all Burma began a series of encroachments on the British territories. As the Burmese had rejected all proposals of peace, the British Government was at last compelled to declare war in February 1824. In the end the Burmese king (the king of Ava) signed in 1826 the Treaty of Yandaboo by virtue of which the whole coast of Tenasserim came under the possession of the English. About the year 1827 General Sir Archibald Campbell selected Moulmein as the capital of the newly-acquired province of Tenasserim.

5. It appears from the records (3) that the following were the main objects of Dr. Richardson's tour in Burma in 1835:—

- (a) to extend and confirm the friendly feelings of the Shan and other Burma States towards the English, whereby the supplies of cattle for the English troops could be obtained at a considerable saving to the British Government;
- (b) to induce the Chinese caravan that annually visited the Shan town for trade, to extend their journey to Moulmein;
- (c) to open friendly intercourse with the tribe of Karens, called the 'Red Karens,' who dwelt on the banks of the Salween river to the northwards of the Tenasserim Province;
- (d) to warn the Burmese Chiefs about attacking or otherwise molesting the Karens who were English subjects;
- (e) to visit the different independent wild tracts of Burma and to obtain first hand knowledge of their people.

6. Dr. Richardson was eminently successful in his Mission. The following extracts from the letter (4) of Mr. E. A. Blundell, Commissioner in the Tenasserim Province, to Mr. R. D. Mangles, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Revenue and Judicial Dept.), dated Moulmein, 13th July, 1835, testify to the utility of this enterprise. The first extract runs: "In effecting the second object above mentioned Dr. Richardson will be entitled to the gratitude of the English mercantile community for opening to them another fertile channel for the disposal of their goods." Another extract says: "Doctor Richardson seems to have been completely successful in the objects for which he was deputed."

7. Dr. Richardson submitted the report of his Mission to Mr. Blundell in June 1835 (Appendix A) who in his turn forwarded (5) it to the

(3) Rev. Dept. (Govt. of Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept., 1835, Nos. 1 and 2.

(4) Rev. Dept. (Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept., 1835, No. 1.

(5) Rev. Dept. (Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept., 1835, No. 1.

Government of Bengal on the 13th July following for their perusal. The Government of Bengal were satisfied with the good result achieved by Dr. Richardson's tour in Burma, and in their reply (6) to Mr. Blundell on the 22nd September 1835 were pleased to say that "they have been much gratified with the zeal, perseverance and discretion displayed by him (Dr. Richardson) on this occasion."

8. In the report of Dr. Richardson we have valuable topographical data of the regions through which he passed. It also gives an insight into the manners, customs, commerce, festivals and superstitions of their inhabitants.

9. The impetus which this tour of Dr. Richardson gave to British commerce in Burma so much encouraged Mr. Blundell that he, in his letter (7) to the Government of Bengal, dated Moulmein, the 13th July 1835, again approached them for sanction to send a fresh commercial Mission to Burma up to the frontier provinces of China. He emphasised the utility of this Mission especially for the reason, as may be found from the records (8), that about this time a deputation was about to proceed to the frontiers of China from Assam to report on the tea cultivation in that direction. It is very gratifying to note that the Government of Bengal in their letter (9) to Mr. Blundell, dated the 22nd September 1835, readily granted the request.

10. Accordingly Mr. Blundell selected his Assistant, Capt. W. McLeod, for the China Mission, and of his own accord and without the sanction of the Government, again selected Dr. Richardson, his surgeon, to be sent "in charge of a large and valuable caravan towards the north-western States of Burma," which were at the time under the King of Ava. This action of Mr. Blundell was subsequently approved (10) by the Government of Bengal.

11. The great object which Mr. Blundell had in view in sending these two Officers to the aforesaid Missions will be apparent from his letter (11) on this subject. As this is a lengthy document, the reader is referred to the records for details. The subjoined extract from this letter, besides describing the utility of expanding inland trade in Burma, presents a running commentary on the character of the lower sections of the Indian people of that period which cannot altogether be disregarded. "In addition to these benefits one most material object such Missions would tend to is to open new and to enlarge old channels of inland trade, than which nothing will more conduce to the prosperity of these (British) provinces. It is necessary to secure the good-will of the Chief in our immediate neighbourhood through those territories the traders from more distant countries must

(6) Rev. Dept. (Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept., 1835, No. 3.

(7) Rev. Dept. (Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept., 1835, No. 3.

(8) *Ibid.*, No. 1.

(9) *Ibid.*, No. 3.

(10) Rev. and Agri. Dept. the 27th Feb., 1837, No. 3 (last letter).

(11) Rev. and Agri. Dept. the 27th Feb., 1837, No. 3 (first letter).

pass; and nothing is more likely to effect this than the occasional visit of a British Officer with complimentary letters and presents, who also in his communications with them will have it in his power to correct any erroneous impressions they may have imbibed from the conduct and reports of the traders from Moulmein, many of whom, especially some low characters from Bengal and Madras who often give considerable trouble in those countries and demean themselves improperly on the strength of their being British subjects."

12. Before Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod set out on their tours, Mr. Blundell gave them valuable instructions on the 25th November 1836, as to how they should act and behave during their journeys. Those letters (12) of instruction, which are very interesting are too lengthy to be reproduced here.

The following are a few of the more important points which occur in the letter to Capt. McLeod:—

- (a) that Capt. McLeod should render himself agreeable to the people and their Chiefs through whose countries he would pass;
- (b) that he should explain to the Chiefs of the countries through which he would travel that the Company are very anxious to open a trade with them whereby each might be mutually benefited;
- (c) that he should inform them of the market that is open for their produce at the British provinces in Burma, and of the facility of obtaining thereof all they want in exchange;
- (d) that he should make known to the Company on his return what description of merchandise they might send to those distant countries which would command ready sale;
- (e) that he should point out to the Burmese Chiefs how much they would benefit by an extended trade passing to and from their territories;
- (f) that he should endeavour to impress upon them that the sole object of his Mission is to open new channels of trade and to ascertain from them what route would promote the expansion of trade in their dominions best;
- (g) that he should ascertain from them their views on the caravans of traders which generally proceed from other countries to the British provinces in Burma through their jurisdiction, the impediments that might be placed in their way in the shape of tolls or other exactions and the protection that would be extended to them;
- (h) that he would try to guide his movements after reaching Zimmay according to the information received from the Chinese traders whom he would meet there;
- (i) that if he found it impossible to return from his destination before the monsoon, he might pass the wet season with the Chinese, provided he anticipated a friendly behaviour from them;

- (j) that he should cautiously avoid doing or saying anything that might give offence or that might lead to inference, that his object is anything but that of opening a trade with them;
- (k) that he should prepare a map of his route and fix the sites of the towns he would pass and the course of the rivers he would cross;
- (l) that he should cautiously use his surveying instruments lest it cause jealousy or fear among the wild tribes;
- (m) that he should endeavour to collect information on the produce of the countries through which he might pass, on the possible demand for English manufactures, as well as on the course of trade, the encouragement and protection afforded to traders besides other points that might prove useful towards opening a commercial intercourse;
- (n) that he should note the manners and habits of the people, the nature of the Government, the influence, direct or indirect, of the surrounding more powerful natives of China, Ava and Siam, the estimation in which the English are held, the desire or otherwise of the people for cultivating intercourse with the English, as also the cause of any impediment that might exist towards it;
- (o) that he should collect every information on such scientific subjects as the products of Natural History, Botany, Mineralogy and kindred sciences;
- (p) that he should make inquiries about the state of the cattle trade as well as ascertain the probable continuance of supplies and the impediments that might exist to their free exportation;
- (q) that he should collect information on the establishment of the Government and the state of affairs consequent on the death of the late principal Chief, Chowcheewet (*sic*), the head of the family, whose successors retain among themselves the several Shan States to the north;
- (r) that he should cautiously avoid all political subjects in his conversations with the Chiefs and if introduced by them he should tell them at once that his object is solely that of extending trade and nothing more;
- (s) that he should particularly warn the natives of India who proceed to the Shan States for trade not to engage themselves in the slave trade, which trade they might find prevalent among the Shans and the red Karens.

13. One interesting point which we find in the above letter is that the "town of Mon La" was the chief centre where the Chinese traders from China met together in the early part of the nineteenth century for commercial purposes.

14. The following important points occur in the letter which Mr. Blundell wrote to Dr. Richardson:—

- (a) that Dr. Richardson should be careful to see that no advantage is taken of his presence by the traders to evade payment of such

- duties as may be customary or may be fairly and lawfully demanded by the Burmese Government though he should resist all exorbitant demands and exactions;
- (b) that he should try to secure, if possible in writing, from the several Chiefs he might visit on his way through, promise to allow him a free and unmolested return passage;
 - (c) that after accompanying the caravan under his charge to its destination and securing for it the protection of those in authority there, he should endeavour to reach Ava, after which he should report to Lieut.-Col. Burney, the English Resident of the place, the result of his accompanying the caravan;
 - (d) that he should be perfectly frank as to the object of his Mission explaining to the authorities of the places through which he might pass that it was solely for the purpose of opening a trade between their countries and the English territories, where a ready market would be found for their produce, that this Mission was proceeding;
 - (e) that he should take particular note of everything of a commercial nature, of the demand for English manufactures among the rude tribes of Burma, of the things obtainable in return, of the feelings and wishes of the Native Chiefs, and of the people with regard to more intimate intercourse with the English, of the duties or tolls demandable at the several towns and of the protection afforded to the traders from British provinces.

15. From the following extracts it may be gleaned that the land through which Dr. Richardson had to pass was to the European travellers a *terra incognita*—a land untrodden by civilised man before. The records say:—"Having conducted the caravan through the Karenni country you will enter others of which little or nothing is known beyond the fact of their being dependent on Ava." Again it is noted: "As the route you will have to traverse is unknown to us and has not hitherto been visited by Europeans, I am unable to give you any but general instructions as to the best mode of effecting your object."

16. Mr. Blundell paid so much interest in these Missions that not content with giving salutary instructions to these Officers, he further provided them with letters of introduction to the different Chiefs through whose countries they would pass, asking for safe conduct and assistance. Among those so addressed were the Chief of Laboung, the Chief of Zimmay, the Chief of Kienyoungji, the Chief of Mon La, the Chief of Tallay, the Chiefs of the Karen countries (Pa Bo, Pa Bang and Kay Ba) and the Chief of Mone. These letters of introduction are all, more or less, of a similar nature. One of these, given in the Appendix B, should convey to the reader an adequate idea of what they were all like.

17. In the letter of Lieut.-Col. H. Burney, Resident at Ava, to W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government of India (Pol. Dept.), dated Ava,

the 18th March, 1837, there is an interesting account of the passage (13) of Dr. Richardson from Moulmein to Mone. We learn from it that Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod after leaving Moulmein on the 13th December, 1836, travelled together up to the Northern frontier of the Tenasserim Provinces and then separated. The former turned his course in a north-easterly direction and the latter went towards the north-west. Dr. Richardson arrived at the Shan town of Mone on the 22nd February, 1837. It may also be gleaned from this letter that during his passage through the countries of the wild tribes he was "treated throughout in the most civil and friendly manner by the Karens who provided him with food and guide; they also promised every facility and assistance to the traders who might pass to and from Moulmein through their country." Such, however, was not the case with him when he left the Karenni country and entered those under the Burmese king (the king of Ava). At the Burman cities of Moukmai and Mone, Dr. Richardson and his party were insulted in every way, short of violence. At Mone they were detained and were disallowed to proceed any further by the Chief authority of the place (styled Tsitkegyih), on the ground that the presents and letters sent from Moulmein by Dr. Blundell, through Richardson, to the king of Ava were not addressed to him. At the intervention of the king, however, they were subsequently released. We further learn from these records that Capt. McLeod, after his separation from Richardson, arrived at the town of Kyaingtoun on the 15th March, 1837. From Mone, Dr. Richardson directed his journey towards Ava and from Kyaingtoun, Capt. McLeod went towards the countries bordering on China. "The journey between Mone and Ava took in those times from 8 to 14 days, and that between Kyaingtoun and Ava, passing through Mone, from 18 to 31 days according as a man travelled express or leisurely."

18. The letter of Col. Burney besides giving an interesting topographical description of the wild tracts through which Dr. Richardson had to pass from Moulmein to Mone also gives us some information about the Government of the Shan provinces under the Burmese king (the king of Ava). An extract from the letter shows that "the whole route from Moulmein to Mone, after crossing the Toungain, was interminable hill and jungle, with the exception of the valleys of Main Lenggyih Kadoo, Bantaut and Moukmai, the last the largest, perhaps, 25 or 30 by 15 or 20 miles; he (Dr. Richardson) had before formed no idea of the populousness of the Karenni country, in travelling through which for several days he had found the whole of the hills well and carefully cultivated and the little valleys between terraced and irrigated in the Chinese style with the greatest neatness and regularity." Again, "in most of the Shan Provinces subject to Ava, a Burmese or half Shan and half Burmese Officer, styled Tsit-ke-gyih, is stationed by the Prince Bo Mhn Woon (*sic*) as the Superintendent or a kind of Secretary of State of Ava for all the Shan Provinces. This Tsitke

has entire charge of the political relations and exercises great control in all other matters over the Shan Chiefs or Tsaubwa."

19. It appears from the records that towards the beginning of the year 1838, Dr. Richardson was at Moulmein after finishing his Ava tour and the letter (14) of Mr. Blundell to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India (Pol. Dept.), dated Moulmein, the 23rd February, 1838, informs us that he proceeded about this time to Calcutta on board the ship "*Diana*" on a month's leave. While at Calcutta he was "employed (15) in supervising the compilation of a new map of the Southern Burman Territory." We find from subsequent records (16) that he returned to his duties at Moulmein towards the end of April, 1838, on board the ship, the "*Ganges*." The exact time when Capt. McLeod returned from his China tour cannot, however, be ascertained from the records.

20. These Missions were fraught with immense good to the Company as well as to the crude tribes of Burma. The Missions not only opened a safe and busy market for the Company on the Frontiers of China for British goods, but they gave as well an impetus to the inland trade of Burma; and the good-will of the tribes towards the Company ushered in a new era of civilisation for the Burmese. It was one of the first links of the chain that now joins in close union, Burma with its teeming population, with the mighty millions that go to form the British Indian Empire.

APPENDIX A.

Report from Dr. D. Richardson, to E. A. Blundell, Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, dated Moulmein,—June, 1835, regarding his commercial tour through the wild tracts of Burma.

"I am happy to state that I found no diminution whatever of the kindly feeling that has always existed towards us among the Chiefs of Laboung, the first town that I visited from Moulmein. I regret, however, to report the death of the old Tsawbwa,* Chowtchewet (*sic*), during my residence in the country. This person has always been warmly attached to us and being the head of the Family from which all the Chiefs of the neighbouring towns and States are sprung, his influence in our favour has no doubt greatly extended towards exciting the kindly feelings with which we seem to be everywhere regarded. At Zimmay, the "Chow Hona" or heir-apparent, the most influential of the Chiefs and in fact the active Member of Government, is not inclined to regard us so favourably as the other Chiefs. I think that were it not for the decided feeling of both Chiefs and people in our

(14) Sec. O. C. the 14th March, 1838, No. 17.

(15) Sec. O. C. the 14th March, 1838, No. 18.

(16) Pol. O. C. the 25th April, 1838, No. 183.

* *Tsawbwa* means "The ruler of a Shan State."

favour throughout the whole country that this man would greatly injure our present relation with them, as it is in Zimmay alone are there any impediment to the free and unrestricted trade with us in cattle. Since my last visit, the Chow Hona (heir-apparent) has issued an order that the Moulmein traders purchasing cattle shall produce the persons from whom the purchase was made at the "Youm" or court. This amounted to a virtual prohibition and after some discussion I obtained the order to be altered into all purchases of cattle to be made in presence of the Thoughte or headman of the village where the seller may reside, though this is a restriction which is not laid in Laboung (the first city visited) where the people from Moulmein are merely required to take out a pass at the Youm with which they may go through the whole country and make any purchases they like. Another obstacle placed in the way of our traders at Zimmay is in the delay that occurs in granting them their passes to quit the country. I found a party of 8 or 10 who had been waiting ten days for their pass and had been daily put off. I pointed out the injury thus suffered by our people and their pass was granted at once and to all other applicants during my stay at Zimmay, though I fear the old system of delay may again be resorted to. I may mention here that after my arrival at Zimmay a grand festival was to take place, for which I was strongly pressed to stay. One of the amusements at this festival was the letting off of large rockets, each rocket being honoured with some name and supposed to appertain to some Chief or great personage. One was appropriated to me and my coolies and servants being joined by a number of Moulmein traders then in the place, who entered into the spirit of the thing, my rocket was well attended to the ground with dancing and singing to the delight of the Shans to whom Burmese music and dancing was quite a novelty. The rockets were all of wretched construction but it so happened that mine performed its duty in a style infinitely superior to any on the ground and such is the superstition of these people that I feel confident that this incident has made an impression on their minds of the superiority of our nation which will not easily be effaced.

2. From Zimmay I proceeded to Lagoun to which my visits had not extended on my former Mission. Here I was received with a warm welcome and great attention and hospitality. The Chiefs of the place seemed really pleased at seeing me and at having an opportunity of expressing their good-will towards us. Indeed throughout the country both Chiefs and people in all the conversations which I had an opportunity of holding with them seem really grateful for the comfort and happiness they now enjoy, free from the destructive inroads of the Burmese and from the incessant calls on both their persons and their purse towards the defence of their country. Owing to our occupation of these provinces they (Lagounese) can now till the ground and look after their fields without the necessity of being armed or of securing their wives and children in their forts and strongholds. The question was often put to me why we do not avail ourselves of the Treaty of Yandabo and take possession of the country east of the Salween and north of our Shan neighbours which is dependant on the

Burmese. There is no doubt that the Shan Chiefs would gladly see us do so and as a large portion of the population of these States are Northern Shans, I imagine that the people of the country itself would be equally glad to place themselves under us to avoid the exactions and impositions of their present rulers. At Langoun, indeed, the Chief did not seem to be perfectly certain whether we (the English) had not already taken possession of the country (east of the Salween) for they consulted me about attacking a village of Meelat Shans (*sic*), lately established between Reintheen (*sic*) and Kaimtaung (*sic*) and enquired whether it was by our orders that it was established; if not, they were inclined to attack it. I told them that though the Treaty of Yandabo gives us all the possessions held by the Burmese to the eastward of the Salween, we have never pushed our claim to the northward of this and that it was a town of the Burmese but advised them, as they wished to avoid the miseries formerly suffered by the inhabitants of the part of the country, to let them alone.

3. Lagoun is equal in size and equally populous with Zimmay. It is situated on the banks of the Maywang, a small stream, that for the greater part of the year is not navigable even for the smallest boats; neither is it available for the purpose of irrigation. The consequence is that the people complain of the scarcity and dearness of provisions, but I would say that this is much their own fault as vegetation is as luxuriant and vigorous as in any other part of the country and that a less slovenly mode of cultivation would secure them an abundant supply of provisions.

4. There exists a difficulty with the Chiefs whom I visited with regard to the punishment of our subjects who commit offences within their jurisdiction owing to the idea that we should resent such an exercise of their authority. I disclaimed any such feeling on our part and referred them to the Treaty of Bankok which (*sic*) they would find that offenders against the laws of one country are to be tried by those laws and by the Judges of that country. A fear or delicacy, however, on this subject seems still to exist among them. For, on my return route to this place from the country of the red Karens a letter met me from the Chief of Zimmay to say that two Tounghoos had carried off a slave of Chen Rajawoong and had been caught four or five marches from Zimmay. They desired to know what they were to do in this case. Having no writing materials with me at the time I returned a verbal message to the effect that though slavery was unknown to us and consequently the crime of seducing away a slave, yet that these persons well knew such was the laws of the country they were residing in and they must abide its consequences. I trusted however the length of time they had been in confinement pending a reference to me would be taken into consideration.

5. At Zimmay I found the caravan of Chinese traders consisting of 200 mules and horses. Three hundred more were said to be at Mounghan where cotton is abundant. They had arrived in the country a considerable time before me and were preparing shortly to return home. I had a good deal of conversation with two heads of the caravan who seemed to be intelligent enterprising characters. They said they had long entertained

the idea of visiting Moulmein and now that they were invited to do so and were assured of protection they would undoubtedly do so the next season, the present one being too far advanced to allow of their increasing their distance from home. They requested that an interpreter should meet them at Zimmay and from their repeated requests that he should be at Zimmay in all November in order to accompany them down, I feel convinced these people will be at Moulmein before the end of this year. With the Chiefs I found no difficulty whatever in obtaining their consent to their passing through the country. No objection was even hinted nor have I reason to expect that any will hereafter arise.

6. The imports by these caravans consist of copper and iron vessels, silk (raw and manufactured), satins, gold and silver thread and lace, musk, walnuts, carpets and vermillion. Their exports from the Shan country are cotton, ivory, skins and horns, etc. From the information which I could collect, the caravan assembled at Mounkoo, distant from Zimmay about two months' journey. Their goods are conveyed by mules and they would appear to travel rapidly as they asserted they would not be more than 12 days from Zimmay to Moulmein. They allow nothing to detain them on their journeys. If a man falls sick or is disabled, he is left behind and if one dies, they do not even stop to bury him but cover his body with a cloth and continue their route.

7. On the third part of my instructions that relative to the exactions from the Karens living on our side of the Thoungyeen river I experienced rather more opposition than I had anticipated. I broached the subject to Chow Hona of Laboung, the first town I visited, but he referred me to Zimmay whose jurisdiction extends in that direction. On my arrival at Zimmay and at my first visit to the Tsaubwa and the assembled minor Chiefs I called their attention to what was said in your letter about the exactions levied from our Karens. They seemed reluctant to enter on the subject but I obliged them at last to acknowledge they were aware of the fact. They pleaded immemorial custom. I pointed out that they might have done so when the Burmese had the provinces who might not have been in the situation to prevent them but that now under us, they must as much refrain from levying on the Frontier Karens as from the town of Moulmein itself and explained to them in the most positive manner that we would not allow a continuance of such acts. These strong observations were evidently not palatable and after a short silence one of the minor Chiefs said "you should not speak so strongly on so small a subject. Let us consider of the matter and we will give you an answer before you go." In the discussion, Chow Hona, and leading man in Zimmay, to whom I have already referred as being less favourable towards us than the other Shan Chiefs was the only speaker. The old Tsaubwa himself being nearly a cypher in his Government and ruled in all he says and does by Chow Hona who was puzzled and his dignity hurt. So I learnt subsequently by my strong language as he would be considered to have greatly fallen in the eyes of the people had he immediately given in and assented to my remark.

8. The festival to which I have above alluded precluded any further discussion on this or other subjects as the Chiefs were too much taken up with it to attend to business. On its completion I received a visit from some of the minor officers of Government evidently with the intention of sounding me as to my determination to persevere in the demand I had made for their exactions south of the Thaungyeen being put a stop to, in order that when I again met the Chiefs, Chow Hona's dignity might not be lowered by having to give in to me. Consequently in my next official visit on asking for the result of their deliberations I was promised that no repetition of the exactions complained of should take place. A counter complaint was then made to me of our Karens having seized and confined one of their officers who was levying the usual exactions and obtained restitution of what he had levied. I replied that you (Mr. Blundell) were ignorant of this circumstance when I left Moulmein, that I had reported to you from the frontiers, and that I was confident you would cause an investigation to be made into it. I remarked, however, at the same time that I could not consider our Karens to be much to blame for redemanding what should never have been taken from them, though their mode of doing it was irregular. You desire me in your instructions to demand the restitution of what may have already been levied by the Shans on our people; but considering that the question of right had been freely yielded and that the Shans had been encouraged to continue their exactions by the tameness and timidity of the Karens who of themselves had never represented the circumstance at Moulmein and considering too the small amount levied, I thought it would have seemed beneath us to demand restitution and be treating them with too much strictness and severity. I hope this deviation from my instructions will not be disapproved of.

9. At this meeting it was agreed that a duty of $1\frac{1}{4}$ rupees should be levied on each teak tree felled by our cutters within their jurisdiction. These trees being valueless to them owing to their not being able to convey the timber from the forest against the stream, Chow Hona in the first instance scouted the idea of levying duty on jungle trees.

10. It was my wish and intention to have visited the Shan towns of Mounng Pay and Mounngnow but owing to my late arrival in the country and to my detention at Zimmay I found I could not accomplish such visits and one to the red Karens. I returned therefore from Lagoun to Laboung in order to make preparation for my trip to the Karen country. Here I found the Shan Chiefs of all the associated States assembled to perform the funeral rites over the body of Chowtcheweet, the late Tsaubwa and the acknowledged head of their family. Here I had to enter into long and disagreeable discussions relative to the three elephants which had been stolen at Moulmein on several occasions and which had been traced to Laboung and the thieves discovered. The difficulty arose from the thieves being proteges or dependants of Chow Hona of Laboung who alone opposed restitution of the property or the punishment of the thieves. I at last threatened that unless I could report to you that this business was satisfactorily settled you

would refer it to Bangkok. This alarmed them, as under present circumstances they must deprecate any reference against them to the king of Siam, who might take advantage of the opportunity to place a stranger in the situation of the deceased Tsaubwa. Still the settlement was put off till the arrival of the "Tsaubwa" of Zimmay who had returned to his town for a few days and I was obliged to quit without knowing the result of their deliberations. I learnt, however by the messenger who met me on my return from the red Karen before mentioned that the affair had been terminated to the satisfaction of the owners of the elephants who had accompanied me from Moulmein.

11. At this assembly the Chiefs seemed on very bad terms with each other and their deliberations were conducted with much acrimony and on one occasion with personal violence. The Chow Hona of Laboung appeared to have given general dissatisfaction though he again was full of complaints against the others. This mutual bad feeling was shewn in the inditing of the letter brought by me to your address from the Chiefs of Laboung. I was informed by one of them that when it was read to Chow Hona he ordered his name to be struck out without assigning any reason. When I called on him to bid him farewell I asked him why he had done so. He begged me to assure you that no disrespect towards you was intended by it, that the letter had been written without in the least consulting him and though it was a very good letter yet he declined to have his name in it under such circumstances. He then went on to say that the death of the old man whose obsequies they were then celebrating would, he feared, be the cause of much evil and misery to the country owing to their own dissensions.

12. Having at last obtained the letter intended for you and having been furnished with an order for guides from the frontiers to the Karenne country, I left Laboung on the 25th March for the red Karens. It is not necessary that I should here enter into any details of my journey but merely to state that though the tract of land occupied by these Karens lies due west from Zimmay and Laboung yet the road always taken is South-west to Meenlungghee (*sic*) and from thence North-westernly (*sic*) to Baning (*sic*), commonly known as the red Karen landing place. This is a wretched insignificant village containing no more than 25 or 30 huts but it is the emporium of the trade of these savages (Red Karens). Such is the timidity of the Shans and the dread in which they hold these people that they never venture into the country if they can avoid it but bring their cattle and money to this place where they exchange them for slaves and sticklac. These slaves are Shans like themselves but of the country west of the Salween dependant on Ava whom they purchase with the greatest indifference and, though they treat them well as slaves, without one thought of the misery their encouragement of the practice causes their fellow creatures.

13. Before crossing the Salween I was visited by the headman of the village and the son of the Chief by whom a visit from Moulmein of a European officer was last year requested but they appeared to be two of equal and joint authority. They seemed undecided at first, which Chief I

should visit. At last they determined on the youth's father as the other Chief is but a youth himself. My Shan friends who accompanied me as guides at first declined going any further but from mere shame, I believe, at deserting me, crossed the river with me and accompanied me to the Chief of their much dreaded allies. I reached the residence of this personage in three days after crossing the river (the Salween), a good sized village situated in some tableland about 1,021 feet by thermometer above the level of the sea. Above this again at a height of about 2,049 feet above the sea was another ledge of tableland and a third again above that, which last is said to be of some extent and exceedingly fertile. It is owing to the favourable sites of these places that they have been able to maintain their independence against the whole force of Ava though armed themselves only with bows and arrows with a few matchlocks among them. The Chief's residence, dignified with the name of the palace, was a wretched, illconstructed wooden house with no other means of admitting light than the crevices between the planks. There was a fire in the middle of the room and what with the stench arising from rotten yams strewed over the floor and the effluvia from a close room crowded with these abominably dirty people, my audience was far from pleasing. I said I had come with a letter and presents from you agreeably to the message you had received from him that an English officer should visit his country. He said he made the request that he might know whether we would join him in an attack on the Burmese. I explained that we could not do so as the Burmese were now our friends. I then requested his protection for our traders who might visit or pass through his country. This he readily promised and that he would make known my request to all the Chiefs of his tribe. I remained three days at this place during which time some Moulmein traders who (on the faith of my intended visit) had penetrated northward to the Burmese Shan countries, returned and informed me that they had fallen with a caravan of Chinese who expressed their desire to visit Moulmein but were afraid to trust themselves in the hands of Karens. Our traders had made a very profitable trip selling their piece-goods at a very large profit and bringing back ponies and sticklac with them. I have every reason to flatter myself that the road to the North-western Shans is now open through the Karen country and if these people can manage to elude the vigilance of their Burmese masters and instead of passing through the large towns of Toungho, Shoaygine, Seetang and Biling (*sic*) plundered successively by their Governors and harassed with exactions of all kinds, they will come direct to Moulmein, our commercial interests in this quarter will be very highly benefitted; at all events if the Shans themselves are prevented from availing themselves of the opening now made for them, there is no impediment to our traders seeking them.

14. I quitted the Karen Chief's residence on the 16th April and arrived here on the 10th May. I met at Meuloonghee (*sic*) an elephant on its way down as a return present from the Chief of Zimmay. I received also two elephants for a similar purpose from the Chief of Laboung which, however, I regret to say have both died since my arrival here. The Chief

of Lagoun having intimated his intention of sending you 30 milch cows as a return present, I left three men at that place to bring them down.

15. I regret to state that three of the Government elephants with which I was furnished for my journey died at different periods.

16. I have the honour to forward you the letters to your address from the several Chiefs in reply to those from you presented to me and I beg leave to conclude my report with a short summary of the advantages likely to be derived from my mission.

17. I need not descant upon the great importance of opening a market with the frontiers of China for British goods by means of the caravans of Chinese traders. It is probable that on the first visit of these people to Moulmein their numbers will be few but when once aware of the safety and freedom from all vexations and exactions with which their visits will be attended and of the extensive market existing for their goods, I think there can be no doubt we shall see them here in future years in great numbers. I learnt from the people and also from other quarters during my travels that no difficulty would exist in our traders visiting the frontier towns of China. The Chinese asserted there were no guards and no restrictions in their towns and a person of some rank at Labon (*sic*) pressed me to accompany him next year on a trading expedition in that direction. I cannot but think this subject is worthy of consideration of the Government and should anything of the kind be deemed advisable, I should be most happy to offer my services.

18. An extensive opening for our inland trade has been made by securing the good-will towards us of the red Karens and it is possible that the intercourse with these people now commenced may lead eventually towards their civilization and that our influence with them may hereafter be successfully exerted in putting an end to their system of kidnapping and selling their neighbours, which now forms their sole occupation. I learnt that 300 to 400 unfortunate beings are annually caught by these people and sold by them into perpetual slavery. I met many of them on my journey, some just purchased and some on their way to be sold.

19. The kind feelings of our North-Eastern Shan neighbours towards us have been increased by my late visit. The mixture of firmness and conciliation which I had it in my power to exhibit towards them on the points discussed has tended to convince them that we are firm and consistent friends not desirous of aggrandising ourselves at their expense but at the same time not to be imposed on or trifled with."

APPENDIX B.

To

THE CHIEF OF LABOUNG.

"When Dr. Richardson returned to Moulmein in the month of Kastoung 1197 (May, 1835) he reported to me that he had been most kindly received by you, and that you stated that you would permit an English

Officer to pass through your territories and afford him every assistance should I wish to send one to the countries beyond your's, even to China. I have reported this to the Ruler of India, and I have received his orders to depute an Officer on a friendly visit to China and to the intermediate countries, in order to open a road of trade with them, to obtain their permission for our traders to visit them, and to recommend their traders to bring their produce to Moulmein and exchange it for our's. The Officer whom I send is Captain McLeod, the Governor of Mergui, whom I hope you will receive as kindly as you always have done Doctor Richardson, and that you will find him equally agreeable to you. Doctor Richardson has this year gone with a caravan of traders to Mone, as it is the wish of the English to become known to and to trade with all the countries in the neighbourhood in order to the mutual benefit of all. As there is now a constant intercourse between your country and Moulmein, and numerous traders from hence go annually to Laboung and reside there a long while, it is desirable that an officer should occasionally visit you in order to thank you for the protection afforded to our traders and to ascertain your wishes, and whether by the misconduct of inferior persons any offence is given that may injure the strong friendship that ought always to exist between us. Nothing has occurred here to give offence, and if anything has occurred in your country, Capt. McLeod will hear it and report it to me. After this I hope you will fulfil your promise and allow Capt. McLeod to go on his journey to the countries and afford him every assistance and protection he may require. To open a trade with other countries is a good work, because the people of all countries benefit by it. Moulmein is a seaport town from whence the produce of distant countries can be conveyed to all parts of the world in ships, which bring other merchandize to Moulmein. It is therefore the wish of the English to induce the people of distant countries to bring their products to Moulmein because it will always sell well, and they can purchase English articles cheap. Therefore Capt. McLeod is deputed to point this out to the countries between your's and China. You will benefit also by so large a trade passing through your country and your name will become renowned among the English who will always be your friends. As a promise was given to Doctor Richardson on his last visit to allow a free permission to traders to pass to and from Moulmein through your territories, and as some Chinese traders visited Moulmein last year, I feel confident you will continue this friendly permission, and Capt. McLeod will report to me your wishes on this subject. I have given Capt. McLeod a few presents for you as a token of respect and friendship."

(Sd.) E. A. BLUNDELL
Commissioner.
 Tenasserim Provinces.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

Lala Babu.

AN interesting paper by Dr. Moreno on the life of Lala Babu was published in the October—December 1926 number of this Journal. Krishna Chandra Sinha, alias Lala Babu, belonged to the Paikpara and Kandi Raj family. The magnificent temple which he built at Brindaban and the pious deeds which he performed in the evening of his life have enshrined his memory in the hearts of millions of Hindus, especially of the Vaishnav sect.

Dr. Moreno's paper, however, may need revision in certain details in the light of the information contained in the following letters of Mr. (afterwards Sir) C. T. Metcalfe, then Resident at Delhi, which I have discovered among the Miscellaneous Records of the Foreign Department of the Government of India. These letters have an independent value inasmuch as they contain an estimate of Lala Babu's character and conduct by a contemporary European, however unfavourable it might be.

Letter from C. T. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi, to John Adam, Secy. to Govt., Fort William, dated 11th April, 1813.

I have occasionally in my correspondence alluded to a negotiation, in which I am engaged with the Rao Rajah of Macheri and which has for its object, the restoration of certain fortresses and territories belonging to the Rajah of Jaipur, unjustly seized and unwarrantably held by the former.

2. In the course of this negotiation I discovered^d that I was thwarted by a person residing at Brindaban, a native of Bengal commonly called Lala Babu.

3. Assurances frequently came on the part of this person to the Rao Rajah desiring him not to surrender the forts and territories as he, Lala Babu, possessed great influence and would procure permission for him to retain them if not from me, from the Government in Calcutta.

4. The Rao Rajah willingly gave ear to assurances so flattering to his wishes, and became totally regardless of my remonstrances and demands, and advice. He kept up a constant communication with this Lala Babu, and the negotiation of the question seemed to be transferred from Delhi to Brindaban.

5. It seemed to be probable that the promises made by Lala Babu might be greatly exaggerated by intermediate Agents, but I was satisfied in my own mind, that Lala Babu did encourage the negotiation, both by his own declarations at Brindaban and by means of his own Agent at Macheri.

6. It was necessary to put a stop to those proceedings and to dissolve the delusion by which the Rao Rajah allowed himself to be buoyed up.

7. I therefore requested the Magistrate of Agra to apprehend Lala Babu, and send him to me under restraint. The Magistrate complied with my application and sent Lala Babu to Delhi under a guard.

8. On the day after his arrival at Delhi, I released him from confinement, allowed him to reside here free from personal restraint, at the same time informing him that his presence would be necessary for a period at this place, and taking measures to keep myself informed of his proceedings.

9. The object which I had in view was nearly accomplished by his being apprehended and sent to Delhi, as the circumstance evinced that he had incurred displeasure, and did away [with] the imaginary consequence that he had assumed and the influence that he had acquired.

10. His presence at Delhi however was necessary, as a special Deputation arrived at about the same time from the Rao Rajah, for the purpose of negotiating on the question at issue. This Deputation had been sent in the first instance to Lala Babu at Brindaban, and was to have accomplished its objects through his influence. I therefore thought his presence desirable during the stay of this mission at Delhi, in order that I might keep a watch over his actions, and prevent his doing further mischief, and in order that the parties might be confronted if expedient.

11. The subject of the negotiation with the Rao Rajah will require a very detailed report, if my hopes of succeeding in persuading him to do what reason and justice require, should finally be disappointed. The object of this letter was merely to apprise you of the steps which I had conceived it my duty to take, with reference to Lala Babu.

12. After this person's arrival at Delhi I found that his proper name was Kishan Chand, alias Lala Babu.

13. He settled some years ago at Brindaban and commenced building a temple, giving out that he had retired from the world and intended to devote his life to religious duties.

14. The original intention however, if he ever possessed it, he has latterly abandoned, for though the building of the temple which is to secure him favour in Heaven, still continues, he has been actively engaged in promoting his worldly affairs and seeking aggrandizement.

15. Some of his proceedings are innocent. He possesses immense wealth and has lately purchased the great Estates of the Rajah of Anupshahr, a measure which seems to be unobjectionable.

16. But several months ago he applied to me to procure for him the title of *Maharajah* from the King. In reply I informed him that it was not in my power to make the application to the King, without orders from the Government. In consequence, the gentleman made a clandestine application to the King, through a secret channel, and obtained the King's signature granting the title. I was, however, in time to prevent the issuing of it. Thus he set at defiance the opinion that I had expressed to him; but I contented myself with stopping the grant of the title and took no notice of his conduct.

17. When I summoned Lala Babu I had not the least idea that he was the same Kishan Chand.

18. His late intrigue with the Rao Rajah was a much more serious offence than the other, and proves him to be a very mischievous man.

19. Rumour is loud in assigning to him crimes of a more heinous nature, but as they are such as would bring him to the gallows if proved, it is to be hoped that he is innocent of them, and at all events it is proper to consider him so.

20. With the particulars of his character I had not any acquaintance before his arrival at Delhi.*

Letter dated 1st June, 1813 from C. T. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi.

32. There was a Hindu, a Bengali by name Kishan Chand, alias Lala Babu, residing at Brindaban, where he was building a temple, a man of immense wealth, and consequently in the eyes of the natives of Hindustan of great importance. There was also a person at Brindaban called Churaparam, a man of intrigue, related to some of the ministers of the Rao Rajah. This man formed a connection with Lala Babu who was supposed to have great influence in Calcutta and with English gentlemen in general.

33. From this time all my attempts to persuade the Rajah to relinquish his unwarrantable seizure were thwarted by a constant recurrence to Lala Babu.

34. An interchange of expresses was kept up between the Court of the Rao Rajah and Lala Babu's Court at Brindaban. Whenever I sent a letter to the Rao Rajah in the shape of demand, remonstrance or advice, requiring, exhorting or recommending the restitution of Doobbee and Sekrawa to their owner the Rajah of Jaipur, my letter was referred to Lala Babu at Brindaban, and something encouraging from that quarter soon did away [with] the degree of effect occasionally produced by my requisitions.

35. Sometime the communications from Lala Babu contained assurances of his being able, by his influence with me, to overcome my scruples—at other times they implied that by an influence superior to mine in Calcutta he would carry the Rao Rajah's point for him at the Presidency in opposition to my representations—and even my dismissal from the Residency at Delhi through the interest of Lala Babu, became a subject of speculation at the Rao Rajah's Court, as a necessary preliminary to the uninterrupted preservation of Doobbee and Sekrawa.

36. It was evident that as long as the Rao Rajah could derive hopes from such a source, there could be no prospect of his quietly restoring his seizures. It therefore became necessary to reduce the consequence of Lala Babu, and to expose him in his proper light. I accordingly adopted those

**Foreign Miscellaneous No. 10, Letter No. 47; Pol. Procdgs. 30 April 1813, No. 11.*

measures, regarding that person, which were stated in a former despatch. These measures appear to have had the desired effect, as since that time I have not heard much of the supposed power of Lala Babu, to prevent the restitution of Doobbee and Sekrawa, and the object of bringing him to Delhi being apparently answered he has been permitted to return to Brindaban.*

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

**Foreign Miscellaneous No. 10, Letter No. 51.*

A Portrait of Richard Barwell.

WE reproduce upon the opposite page a portrait of Richard and his son by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It has already been illustrated in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, p. 227). Upon that occasion it was stated that Lord Curzon, in a letter written to the Editor on July 17, 1924, had mentioned that a few days earlier he had seen it in the gallery of M. Sedelmayer, the Paris picture-dealer, and that he had also seen it there in 1905. M. Sedelmayer informed Lord Curzon that he had hitherto asked £10,000 for the picture but was then willing to take £8,000. Lord Curzon's comment was that the price which would be obtained for it at Christie's would vary between £1,200 and £1,500: "so no business was possible."

The picture would seem to be still awaiting a purchaser for it was announced in *The Times* of January 18, that it was being taken over to New York by a member of the firm of Lewis and Simmons, the fine art dealers, of South Audley Street. A number of interesting details were added.

It appears that there are two versions of this group by Sir Joshua Reynolds: One of them which has already found its way to New York, is without the "inset" portrait of Warren Hastings besides the writing table on which Barwell is resting his left hand. The other which we again illustrate and which was seen by Lord Curzon in Paris, contains the "inset."

According to Graves and Cronin's History of the works of Reynolds, Barwell and his young son sat to Sir Joshua for this group in 1780-81, when he was completing the purchase of Stanstead Park from the Earl of Scarborough at a cost of £102,500. The picture was painted for Hastings and Barwell paid £315 for it. Writing to his nephew Richard Johnson (1), who was going out to Calcutta, on January 17, 1781, Sir Joshua writes: "I am now drawing a whole length of Mr. Barwell and his son for Mr. Hastings, when the picture goes to India, I shall write at the same time in your favour." The "inset" portrait is said to have copied by Reynolds from a miniature of Hastings then in the posses-

(1) Reynolds had two nephews of the name of Johnson in Calcutta. The *Times* gives the Christian name of the addressee of this letter as William. But William Johnson, who became an attorney of the Supreme Court and died in Calcutta in 1799, came out with the Judges in 1774 "under the immediate protection of Sir Robert Chambers" (Hickey Vol. III, p. 127) and had been provided for. Richard Johnson, the younger nephew, was in the Civil Service of the Company. He was sent to Lucknow as Nathaniel Middleton's assistant and when Middleton took his wife down to Bengal in 1782 he acted as Resident and, says Hastings, "abused his trust or was charged with it, and was recalled." In 1789 he returned to England and became a partner in a firm Edwards, Smith, Templar, Middleton, Johnson and Wedgwood which acted as bankers for Hastings and his wife. In 1807 he had fallen into such difficulties that he was arranging to return to India, when he died at Brighton. His collection of Oriental paintings is now at the India Office.



RICHARD BARWELL AND HIS SON.
By JOSHUA REYNOLDS.
(From the engraving by R. B. PARKS.)

sion of Barwell, which was painted by Imhoff on board the *Duke of Grafton*, the Indiaman which took Hastings and the Imhoffs out to Madras in 1769. The features are certainly those of a young man; but they bear little resemblance to those of Hastings, of whom we have a representation at that very period in the three-quarter length portrait for which Reynolds received seventy guineas on October 9, 1768, which was lent by the last Lord Northwick (the descendant of Charles Cockerell) to the Grosvenor Gallery in 1884 (2).

The picture was not, it would seem, sent out to India after all; for according to one of Barwell's grandsons, it was sent to Hastings at Daylesford "as an offering from my grandfather to his old chief, in remembrance of the many battles they had fought and won together in the Council-Chamber at Calcutta." It was engraved in 1865 by R. B. Parkes, and appears to have reverted after the death of Hastings in 1818 to the Barwell family, for in the year of the publication of the engraving it belonged to Miss Matilda Barwell who lived in Montpelier-crescent, Brighton, and died there at an advanced age in 1874. She left the picture to Sir Nugent Everard, who disposed of it privately.

The other portrait, without the "inset," was apparently a replica painted for Barwell himself, and remained in the family until comparatively recent years. Barwell secured election to the House of Commons in 1784 as member for St. Ives, and sat also for Winchelsea in 1790 and 1796. He died in 1804 at the age of sixty-three.

EVAN COTTON.

(2) It was engraved in mezzotint by Thomas Watson in 1777. The copy in the Victoria Memorial Hall was presented by Miss Marian Winter whose mother was a niece of Mrs. Hastings and married the Rev. Thomas Winter, rector of Daylesford.

Historical Records.

A PLEA FOR THEIR STUDY.

A STUDY of the historical records preserved in the archives of Government will disclose a mine of information on all conceivable subjects connected with the administration of the country. But the general body of records is too vast to be studied by a single individual, however talented or industrious he may be. The despatches from this country to the Court of Directors and their replies are much smaller in volume. The historian, J. Talboys Wheeler, who possessed a sound knowledge of Govt. records, has a good deal to say in respect of these Despatches. He says that "the historical and literary value of these General Letters (by which name the Despatches are called) has been very much overlooked. . . . Those from the Directors were mostly penned by that class of experienced and practical men of high intellectual powers, who attained their position by sheer force of genius, but who, until a comparatively recent period, were more anxious to secure private fortunes than to acquire literary or political fame. On the other hand, each General Letter sent home formed a lucid summary of the year's proceedings. . . . being written under the immediate eye of the President of Council, with the utmost brevity and clearness with an intimate and exhaustive knowledge on the part of the writer, of the whole of the subject matter. . . . At the same time the "From England" letters embodied the views of the shrewdest men in England upon the transactions of the year and frequently combined a purity of language and vigour of thought and expression which are almost without a parallel in English prose literature." It will thus be seen that these Despatches are an epitome of the history of British India and therefore, it may be stated without hesitation, that a systematic study of them will provide ample materials for supplementing and in some cases revising the information contained in classical historical works on India and will serve to increase the "reputation of England for the justice and temperate wisdom of her dealings with India." Not only this, but the "publication of old records is a matter of political importance and would do much to prevent misconstruction of policy and motives of Indian Govts." The public possess a proverbially short memory, so they require to be reminded often, to be able to assess things and events at their proper value. The present is built on the fabric of the past, consequently to ignore the past in forming a judgment on present day problems is neither commendable nor is likely to lead to fruitful results. It is therefore essential to have correct information on such subjects diffused as much as possible, not only to dissipate ignorance and prevent trouble but to foster a spirit of civic duty and healthy perspective. Many, if not most of the burning questions of the day have a past history, it is

necessary that the correct past history of such questions should be studied. Unquestionably the Govt. records contain some of the most unimpeachable evidence on which the history of British India can be based, but it requires genius to create, guide and infuse enthusiasm into a band of devoted scholars whose aim should be to serve the public by dispelling ignorance of facts, throwing new light on obscure points of history or current problems and if possible to rewrite the history of British India. The writer can recall how such a band was formed two decades ago by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, as head of the Servants of India Society. Nothing less than such an enthusiastic and intellectual body will be able to make any impression on the vast number of records to be tackled. There are many erudite scholars who specialise on one or two subjects, and explore records only on those particular subjects, but the ocean of truth, embodied in the records as a whole, yet practically lies unexplored, though not wholly uncharted. The writer of this is no scholar, but even he feels that the importance of the subject has not received its due meed of attention from the public. Of course many difficulties have to be overcome by the research scholar, but Govt. themselves have forestalled the difficulties by publishing catalogues, Indexes, Calendars, Press lists, reprints from records, Calendars and so forth and are affording all possible facilities, but the public seem to know very little of these. Yet these are the dry bones of history. The output of such publications by Govt. has not been commensurate with the bulk of the records to be so treated, but a good deal has been done. It now remains for the scholar, the research and other learned societies to explore the materials and make worthy use of them. The task is great, it will take generations, but it is certainly well worth the trouble and expense. [In the hopes of creating an interest in this matter this magazine published from time to time selections from the records, of which an instalment is given below.] They have been taken almost *verbatim* from the Despatches and are, it is hoped, of interest. They throw some light on the usage and customs that obtained in the country 125 years ago and demonstrate the anxiety of Govt. to reform abuses, from the earliest times.

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

S. C. ROY.

The first extract deals with a gentleman who seems to have escaped even the microscopic scrutiny of Sir Evan Cotton. This was a Mr. Antonio Angelo Tremamando (from his name an Italian) who applied for permission to establish a riding academy "on the waste ground opposite the house known as the General's house," which we cannot trace; it is not apparently mentioned by Sir Evan Cotton.

Mr. Tremamando seems at first to have prospered in his riding establishment for he submitted on Sept. 28th, 1780 proposals for the better training

of the Cavalry belonging to the Bengal Establishment; presumably the training would be conducted by Mr. Tremamando. There is no record that has come to our notice agreeing to these proposals but apparently they were found acceptable as on October 14th, 1780, Mr. Tremamando in his capacity as riding-master to the Army asks for orders to be passed sending two troopers from each cavalry unit to his establishment for training. This is an interesting fact in the history of equitation in this country which some one else may care to develop and examine.

Mr. Tremamando's success was not permanent. For reasons which he does not give he reports on February 12th, 1784 that his riding school has failed, and he requests permission to build on the land which had been leased to him in 1779: permission was given. Mr. Tremamando resigned his post as riding-master on February 17th, 1785, and accompanied the resignation with the usual request for permission to rejoin the Company's service. This was the accepted procedure when leave to Europe was required: the officer applying for leave resigned the service and asked for definite assurance that he should be allowed to rejoin.

The next extract reveals one of the minor difficulties which confronted the Company in shipping back to England time-expired soldiers. These "old soldiers" in every sense of the word seem to have been a great nuisance on board, and if they were called on to work, in order to keep them out of mischief, or else to assist in any emergency they promptly claimed wages as sailors on arrival in England, in some cases even when they had never done a hand's turn of work throughout the voyage. On the other hand readers of Smollett and Maryatt will not be unmindful of the conditions obtaining in ships during the 18th century and the autocratic and often tyrannical nature of ship-masters and sea captains. The Company's Attorney seems to have been alive to this side of the point at issue. Mr. George Bogle, who signs the letter to Mr. Peter Auriol, was an extremely able officer of the Company, who died prematurely but before his death, he had given convincing proof of his ability, being one of the members of the Amini Commission.

The third extract deals with the application of "Mr. Tiretta for establishing two market places in the town of Calcutta." Tiretta was a Venetian, and a full account of him is given in Sir Evan Cotton's "Calcutta, old and new" (pp. 347-48, 566-67). This application assists in dating the foundation of the bazar. Long put the date at 1788, but as the letter of recommendation to Warren Hastings is dated February 9th, 1778, one may assume that the bazar was sanctioned almost exactly 150 years ago.

(Gov. Genl's Procs. 8th Jany. 1770.)

Letter from Mr. Tremamando.

"HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I beg leave to address your Hon'ble Board upon the following subject:

Many of my friends and the most respectable inhabitants of the Settlement have recommended my endeavouring to establish a Riding

Academy at Calcutta; I therefore crave the sanction of your Hon'ble Board for an allotment of two begahs and a half of the waste ground opposite the House known by the name of the General's House to the Eastward, and also that of Mr. Charles Childs' and abutting in the road to the Southward near the wall belonging to Mr. Verelst. This favour will be gratefully acknowledged by

HON'BLE SIR, etc.,

(Signed) ANTONIO ANGELO TREMAMANDO.

Calcutta, 5th January, 1779.

Resolution thereon.

Agreed that a grant be made to Mr. Tremamando of the ground requested by him on the express condition of it's being converted to the purpose of erecting a Riding Academy, and that no dwelling house be built upon it: and in consideration of the Public benefit which will be derived from it, that it be allowed to him for an annual quit-rent of 20 rupees for the term of 99 years.

Ordered that Mr. Tremamando be advised of the resolution, and agreed that the following letter be written to the Provincial Council of Calcutta.

TO MR. EDWARD GOLDING,

President and the Provincial Council for the Division (1) of Calcutta.
"GENTLEMEN,

Enclosed we transmit you the copy of a letter which we have received from Mr. Antonio Angelo Tremamando. We have agreed to make a grant of the ground to Mr. Tremamando as requested in his letter on the express condition of it being converted to the purpose of erecting a Riding Academy and that no dwelling House be built upon it; and in consideration of the public benefit which will be derived from it, we have allowed him the ground for an annual quit-rent of 20 rupees for the term of 99 years.

You will accordingly grant a pottah (2) to Mr. Tremamando for the ground in question."

We are, etc.

FORT WILLIAM,
8th January, 1779.

(1) The Provincial Councils date from Nov. 23rd, 1773, when in accordance with orders from the Court of Directors, the Collectorships were abolished and the Revenue Collections of the three provinces divided into six Divisions, each under a Provincial Council consisting of one Chief and four senior servants of the Company. These Divisions were Burdwan, Murshidabad, Dinajpur, Dacca, Patna and Calcutta, the last-named being under a President, not a Chief, and being also termed the Calcutta Committee of Revenue.

R. B. R.

(2) *Pottah*, i.e., patta, a deed of lease. Cf. Wilson's Glossary, p. 408. Mr. Joseph Fowke,* in the course of his written reply to the charges made against him by Kamal ud-Din Khan and the Roy Royan, Rajja Rajballabh, makes an interesting reference to these pottahs..... "Copies were taken of the two pottahs shown to me. I took the measure of the writing of one, being fifty-two feet long and five inches broad."

R. B. R.

* Revenue Board Proceedings, Dec. 16th, 1774.

SIR,

I have receiv'd yours acquainting me that it is the Order of the Govr.-General and Council that I receive on board my ship Ten discharg'd Soldiers to be accommodated with a passage to Europe on the terms of Charter party.

I request you will acquaint the Hon'ble Board that I am particularly orderd by my Owners to make application to them that they will be pleas'd to give directions for an agreement in writing to be deliver'd to me sign'd by each respective person that they will not demand, sue for, or attempt to recover any Gratuity or Pay for any service or assistance they may be called on to render the ship in time of necessity during the passage to England, as many such passengers have sued the Owners of the ships they came home in and recover'd wages as Seamen when they had in fact never assisted in any of the duty of the Ship.

You will be pleas'd also to acquaint the Hon'ble Board, that as I find several of the Commanders of the Hon'ble Companys ships, that are gone home this year have made a similar application to this, but that the Hon'ble Board did not chuse to comply with their request as it was only the private instructions from the Owners of the Ships to their respective Commanders. I therefore beg leave to transcribe the 43d Paragraph of the Hon'ble Compy's instruction to me.

"If any of our Agents in India shall order any Passengers on board your ship for England they are directed to cause each of them to sign an Instrument to be transmitted to us, engaging before they embark that they will not demand any wages for the voyage home that the complaints of the Owners may be remov'd on the demands of such Passengers, for wages as has been the case under the pretence of their having assisted in the Navigation of the Ship altho, they have hardly been employed in any of its business."

I am sorry to give the Hon'ble Board so much trouble and hope they will excuse it when they consider that I am equally liable to suffer from inattention to my Owners Orders as the Companys and make no doubt but they will give such directions relative to this affair as shall secure me from the censure of my Owners on my return to England.

I am
SIR

Your most H'ble. Servt.

THOS NEWTE.

Calcutta, January ye. 5th, 1777.

In Circulation.

A LETTER FROM CAPTN. NEWTE.

I have refer'd to the old Books of Standing Orders and to an abstract of the Compy's Gen letters since April 65, but have not been able to find any directions similar to those recited by Captain Newte.

J. P. A.

Monday Evg.

Secy.

If the Compy's order to Capt. Newte shou'd be inspected by the Secy. The Ground of It is Just and I see no objection to a Compliance on the part of the Board even admitting the Orders not officially authenticated.

R. B.

Agreed by W. H. P. F. and E. W.

Home Dept. Pub. Con. 8th Jan. 1778, No. 10.

TO JAMES PETER AURIOL ESQR.,
Secretary, etc., etc.

SIR,

Agreable to the Hon'ble Board's Orders signified to me in your letter of this date, I transmit the draft of an obligation to be executed by the discharged soldiers going passengers on the *Ceres*, I beg leave at the same time to mention that I am advised by the Company's Attorney that an order to render legally binding counterpart obligation should be executed by Captain Newte and delivered to them, engaging to pay them wages in case they are employed in navigating the Ship. But as the opinion of Council could not be taken on this subject, and the Deeds drawn out and executed, without a Risque of detaining the ship, which I understand is already despatched, and as such a Covenant on the part of the Captain would most probably serve to encourage them to prefer litigious claims for wages which it seems the Intention of the Court of Directors to prevent, I have thought it most advisable to lose no time in submitting the accompanying short Form which will probably have the Effect of deterring the soldiers from making careless Demands at the same time that it does not preclude their claims of just.

I am,

SIR,

Your most obedt Humble Servt.,

GEORGE BOGLE,

Commissioner of Law Suits.

CALCUTTA,
The 6th January, 1778.

Home Dept. Pub. Con. 8th Jan. 1778, No. 11.

Whereas we——Fort William in Bengal having served our time duly and faithfully as soldiers in the Service of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and being now about to proceed on Board the *Ceres*, Captn. Thomas Newte, in order to be conveyed to Eng-

land as Charter Party Passengers, Now we the said——do hereby, for ourselves our Executors and Administrators, covenant to and with the said Thomas Newte that on our Arival in England aforesaid we will not litigiously, or under false Pretences or Colour of having Assisted in the navigating of the said Ship on her passage homeward, sue for any wages or Gratuity whatsoever. Given under our hands this day of January, 1778.

WITNESS

I approve of the above Draft except the words, or Colour of having Assisted in the navigating of the said Ship on her passage homeward which I think ought to be omitted, as the Men are undoubtedly entitled to be paid their Hire or a Recompence for any Labor imposed upon them.

But if this omission shall be deemed to invalidate ye instructions the further clause may be added to that to wh. I have objected and may thus stand. I submit both to ye consideration of ye Board.
" not having been thereto compelled."

(Sd.) W. H.
 P. F.
 E. W.

Home Dept. Pub. Con. 9th Feb. 1778, No. 13 (A.)

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Governour-General, etc., Council of FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs,

In consequence of a Letter I have received from your Secretary accompanied with a Plan and Proposal of Mr. Tiretta for Establishing two Market Places in the Town of Calcutta I have carefully surveyed the Spots of Ground design'd to be allotted for those Purposes and beg leave to offer it as my opinion that from the convenience of their Situation they will perfectly answer the Intent without Encroaching on the Right of the Individuals; the former called Bogden Garden being already Mr. Tiretta's own Property, and the Latter to the Westward of the Foundry is Engag'd to him by the Proprietors if his Scheme is admitted of—The Benefits which must result from these Markets will be the Removal of all Such People as Vend Butchers Meat, Fish, Fowls, Greens and other Provisions in the Streets, Lanes, and Roads to the very great Inconvenience and Annoyance of the Inhabitants dwelling thereabouts, as well the Encroachments on the Streets and Highways preventing a free Passage for Carriages and Foot Passengers besides stopping the Course of the Drains with Filth and Dirt whereby many Parts of the Town are overflowed with Water in the Rainy Season which occasions a very great Nuisance to the Publick in General, and contributes to render the Town Sickly at that unfavourable Time of the Year.

I humbly submit the foregoing Observations to your Consideration flattering myself they will meet Your Approval and Engage you to an acquiescence in Mr. Tiretta's Proposals.

I am with Respect

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs,

Your Most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

C. S. PLAYDELL.

FORT WILLIAM.

POLICE OFFICE

The 9th February, 1778.

LANDLORDS AND TENANTS.

The severities exercised by the Landholders over their ryots and under-tenants had frequently been brought to the notice of Govt. The oppressive practices had their origin under the "Native Govt." and they had continued to exist, although in a less degree, from the want of laws at the time, defining the nature and extent of the coercion which landholders and farmers of land were entitled to exercise over their ryots and under-renters in order to enforce payment of arrears of revenue. The silence or uncertainty of the laws at the time on this point prompted many persons to have recourse to the usage of the times and they had recourse to the most oppressive measures to compel the discharge of arrears and often employed the same severities for the purpose of extortion; whilst others, doubtful of the measures they might legally adopt to enforce payment by defaulters and apprehensive of subjecting themselves to prosecution for oppression, refrained from all compulsion and were often defrauded of their just dues. These defects in the Regulations, to screen oppression and dishonesty on the one hand and to encourage moderation and good faith on the other, (it being essential to the prosperity of the country and the punctual collection of public revenue that landholders and farmers of lands should have the means of enforcing payment from defaulters without being obliged to go to law or incurring the delay and expense thereof and also considering that the tenants had a right to the protection of Govt.) it was decided to issue certain regulations to secure both these ends. This appears to have been one of the earliest efforts on the part of Govt. to create harmony between landlords and tenants.

HEIRS OF MURDERED PERSONS DEBARRED FROM PARDONING MURDERERS.

Some Regulations were enacted in 1790 by which the heirs of murdered persons were debarred from pardoning the murderer. Since then instances came to the notice of Govt. about the evasion of the regulations by the refusal of such heirs to prosecute the murderer at all. Govt. considered that if this state of affairs was allowed to go on it would lead to endless difficulties as persons might commit murder and although convicted by the most undeniable evidence might elude punishment by prevailing upon the heir by corrupt or other means to refuse to prosecute. As a consequence

Govt. issued certain rules which laid down that in cases of murder the refusal of the relations to prosecute should be no longer considered as a bar to the trial or condemnation of the offender and that the papers in respect of such cases were to be forwarded with the *Futwa* of the law officers to the Nizam-at Adalat for orders, who were directed to pass orders in such cases as if the heir had prosecuted and been present at the trial.

ATTACHMENT OF PROPERTY OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR TRIAL REVOKED.

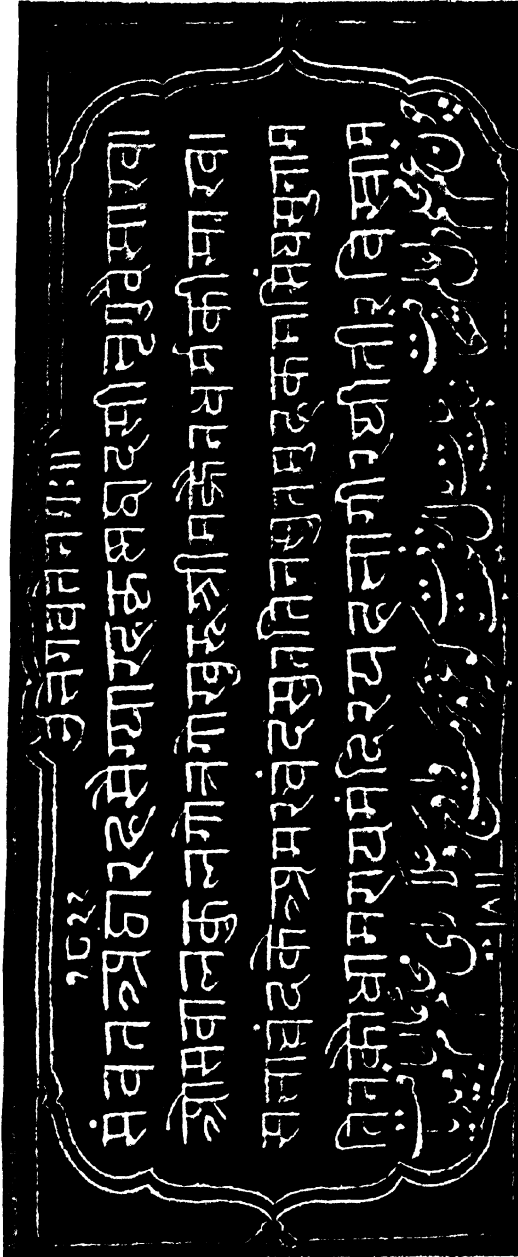
It was the practice in those days to attach the property of persons committed to the Criminal Courts. If he was acquitted the property was returned to him. Many abuses having been committed under this practice and it having appeared to Govt. that the rule was unjust to the family and relations of the offender and contrary to the principles of equity Govt. thought it advisable to abolish it.

ALLOWANCE TO DESTITUTE RELEASED PRISONERS.

Offenders discharged from jail after long imprisonment being frequently found to be destitute of every means of subsistence until they could repair to their former place of residence or find employment, were often compelled by absolute want to revert to their former malpractices. Govt. therefore made it a rule that Magistrates should have power to pay to all persons who shall be released from the Faujdari jails after having suffered imprisonment for six months or upwards a sum sufficient to maintain them for one month, not exceeding Rs. 5/- per man.

CUSTOM OF PRIMOGENITURE ABOLISHED.

The same principle which induced Govt. to resolve upon a separation of the Taluqs prompted them to recommend to the Court of Directors the abolition of a custom introduced under the "Native Govt.," by which most of the principal zamindaries were made to descend entire to the eldest son or next heir of the incumbent in opposition both to the Hindu and Muhammadan law, which admitted of no exclusive right of inheritance in favour of primogeniture, but required that property of a deceased person should be divided amongst his sons or heirs in certain specified proportions. The Court of Directors had previously agreed that the large zamindaris should be dismembered "if it could be effected consistently with the principles of justice" Govt. therefore did not hesitate to adopt measures to abolish the custom without the sanction of the Court of Directors. The result of this step was that the "zamindars whom this regulation affect cannot fail to be satisfied with it as it leaves them at liberty to divide their property or to allow it to devolve on their heirs after their death in the proportions to which they are entitled by law or to keep it entire by devolving the whole of it by will to any one of their heirs or relations."

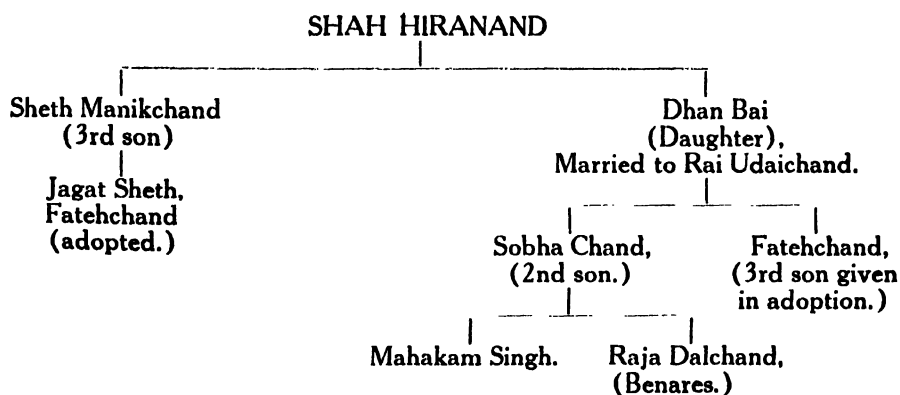


Inscription at Dasturhat,
(MURSHIDABAD.)

Inscription at Basturhat (Murshidabad)

1754 A.D.

STUDENTS of Indian History are well-acquainted with the name of Jagat Sheths of Murshidabad. The family belongs to the Oswal sect of the Jains. Raja Udai Chand of Agra, one of the ancestors of late Raja Siva Prasad, C.S.I. of Benares also belonged to this sect and had matrimonial connections with the family. It thus happened that Raja Udai Chand married the daughter of Shah Hiranand, the father of Sheth Manik Chand, by whom he had four sons. After the marriage, Raja Udai Chand and his family removed to Murshidabad. Manik Chand had no issue and so he took Fateh Chand, 3rd son of Udai Chand, in adoption. Udai Chand's 2nd son was Sobha Chand, mentioned in the inscription as father of Amar Chand. This Amarchand had two sons Mahakam Singh and Dalchand. The younger Raja Dalchand settled in Benares and the cenotaph was erected in memory of the elder Mahakam Singh. The following pedigree will be found useful in this connection.



For a complete genealogical table I would refer the readers to my article "The Genealogy of the Jagat Seths of Murshidabad" read before the 5th Historical Record Commission (1923).

The Inscription is inscribed on a tablet of hard black stone popularly known as "Touch Stone" measuring $1' 3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. The cenotaph consists of five lines of Hindi and two lines of Persian within ornamental lines. The Devanagri letters measure more than half inch in length while the Persian portion is inscribed within an inch and a half in breadth. The accompanying plate will enlighten the readers.

The village of Dasturhat is situated about three miles north of the town of Azimganj. It is now some 25 years that I first came to know about the existence of a delapidated temple at the place which roused my curiosity. I visited the place and found a two storeyed octagonal temple in ruins almost without roof standing within a plot covered with jungles and over grown trees. With some difficulties and risk I reached the upper part of the temple and to my great delight I found the tablet of black stone inscribed with letters in gold over the main entrance on the first floor. I copied the Hindi portion and its reading brought to light the fact that it was a cenotaph in memory of Mahakam Singh. The Hindi portion of the Inscription was published in my Jain Inscriptions Part I (No. 86.) A few years after, I was informed that on account of heavy rains in the locality the temple had fallen down. I was anxious for the inscribed stone and in spite of my labours in the debris it could not be traced. But fortunately afterwards the tablet was secured by me from some Railway coolies who had removed the same from the place. The inscription has been of great use to me in my preparation of the Genealogy of the Jagat Sheth's house and I hope it may be of service to the students of history of the period as well as in tracing the family history.

Text
(Romanised)

I

[Hindi]

1. 1811. Om Bhagavate namah.
2. Samvat aththarahasai gyarah krishna dvadasee bhrigu Baisakh.
3. Oswal kula gotra Gokhuroo Shrimajjaina dharma ki sakh.
4. Sobha chand ke Amar chand suta tina suta Mahkam singh
sunama.
5. Tinkau dhama Rai Mandir yah Bhagirathi tira visrama.

II

[Persian]

1. Chun gham-i Mahkam dil-i alam higaft, Sambat-i-rihlat badil az ghaib taft.
2. Kū ba izz-o-hurmat o auj-o ula, Rai Mahkam alm-i jawid yaft.

Translation

I

[Hindi]

1811. Om. Obeisance to the Almighty.

In the Vikrama Era 1811 on Friday the twelvth day of the new-moon of the month of Baisakh this Rai Mandir a place of rest is built on the bank of the Bhagirathi to the memory of the renowned Mahkam singh, son of Amar chand who was son of Sobha chand of Gokhuroo gotra of Oswal clan, a follower of the teachings of the auspicious Jain religion.

II

[Persian]

While the sad death of Mahkam broke the heart of the world, the
Sambat era of his death shone across my mind like a divine inspiration.

That Rai Mahkam with respect, honour and dignity got the immortal
world.

[Sam. 1811]

P. C. NAHAR.

Gorgin Khan

THE ARMENIAN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND MINISTER OF

NAWAB MIR KASIM OF BENGAL,

FROM

1760-1763.

IN the paper which I read in December 1926 at the Lucknow Session of the "Indian Historical Records Commission" on "Hindoos in Armenia 150 years before Christ," I stated that Armenians had been connected with India from the days of remote antiquity.

As the first foreign traders, they were well-known in India from the Punjab and Cashmere to the banks of the Ganges, having penetrated into the country by the old overland route, through Persia and Afghanistan. They had come by the same route through which the remote ancestors of the Hindoos—the fair Aryans—had migrated into India, most probably from the highlands of Armenia. Be that as it may, as this is not the place to discuss the thorny question of the ancestral home of the Indian Aryans, suffice it to say that the mountains and the rivers mentioned in that great epic—the Mahabhratha—have great affinity to the majestic mountains and the great rivers of ancient Armenia.

In my Paper on "Hindoos in Armenia," I narrated the history of two fugitive Hindoo princes from Kanauj who found an asylum in far-off Armenia in the year 149 B.C. from which it is evident that there was a friendly intercourse between Hindoos and Armenians 2,000 years ago, hence the flight of the two Indian princes to Armenia and not to any of the neighbouring countries, such as Ceylon, Burmah or Siam.

For twenty centuries and more Armenians have been connected with India as a commercial people and have through their integrity achieved success in the domain of trade and commerce during the Hindoo, the Mohammedan and the British periods. Although a purely commercial community, yet when an opportunity has presented itself, they have shown themselves to be more than ordinary merchants and traders.

During the reign of Akbar, who was a great patron of the Armenians, the son of an Armenian merchant of Cashmere, Mirza Zul-Qurnain, or Alexander by name, rose to be a grandee of the Mogul Court through sheer merit, and continued to enjoy that high privilege and distinction during the reigns of Jehangeer and Shah Jehan, and despite the blandishments of Akbar, the persuasions of Jehangeer and the persecutions of Shah Jehan, the Armenian grandee remained firm and steadfast in the faith of his forefathers and lived and died a good Christian, a staunch friend and a patron of the good Jesuit Fathers at Akbar's Court who wrote of him as "the pillar of

Christianity in India." The Chief Justice—Mir Adl—of Akbar's Court was likewise an Armenian, Abdool Hai by name.

An eminent Armenian merchant of Bengal, Khojah Israel Sarhad rose to be a diplomat and an envoy and was instrumental in securing the "Grand Farman" for the English East India Company from the Mogul Emperor Farrokhsiyar in 1715. Another well-known Armenian merchant of Calcutta, Khojah Petrus, better known as the "Armenian Petrus," rendered yeoman services to the British cause in Bengal after the tragedy of the "Black Hole" and acted as an envoy between the English and Mir Jaffir for the overthrow of Nawab Siraj-ud-dowla and was equally successful afterwards in the removal of the imbecile Nawab Mir Jaffir from the Masnad of Murshidabad and in the appointment of Mir Kasim, in 1760, as the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Since the days of Akbar who reigned from 1556-1605, up to the middle of the 18th century, or a period of 200 years, the Armenians in India, apart from being eminent merchants, had given a Chief Justice, and a grandee to the Mogul Court, an envoy to the British, but they had not yet distinguished themselves in the military service of the country of their adoption. Yet when the psychological moment arrived, a humble Armenian cloth-seller of Hooghly, Khojah Gregory by name, and a younger brother of the "Armenian Petrus" referred to above, laid down the iron yard measure and took up a gun in the same way that Clive, a humble writer on the Madras Establishment, had exchanged his quill for a sword and with what wonderful results!

Khojah Gregory, better known by his orientalized name of "Gorgin Khan," was a cloth-merchant at Hooghly and for championing the cause of Mir Kasim, he became his confidant and when Mir Kasim ascended the Masnad of Murshidabad in place of his father-in-law, Nawab Mir Jaffir, in 1760, he immediately appointed Gorgin Khan as the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army.

The limited time at my disposal will not permit me to record in the course of this Paper, the achievements of that great Armenian soldier who for three years was the virtual ruler of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and had he not fallen a victim to the sword of an unknown assassin, he would in time have become the Nawab of Bengal with the help of the Army at his command. Had his useful life been spared, he would have done what those two soldiers of fortune, Kemal Pasha and Reza Khan did in Turkey and Persia in our own days.

Unfortunately very little is known of this remarkable military genius—the erstwhile cloth-seller of Hooghly—for the Mohammedan historians of the time have, through racial jealousy and religious antipathy, painted him black by calling him a "traitor" and "the evil genius of Mir Kasim."

Amongst the English historians, Marshman, who is regarded as the best authority on Indian history of that period, writes of Gorgin Khan as follows:

"Meer Caseem met the difficulties of his position with great energy. He curtailed the extravagance of the court establishments. He abolished

the " Ram Office ", the " Antelope Office ", the " Nightingale Office ", and many other useless and costly appendages of the menagerie department. He subjected the public accounts to a severe scrutiny, and obliged the officers to disgorge the plunder they had acquired. He exacted all arrears of rent with unexampled rigour, revised the assessment of the land, and made an addition of a crore of rupees to the annual revenue of the three provinces. These measures gave him the means of discharging all the obligations he had contracted to the English, after which he gave his entire attention to the great object of emancipating himself from the pressure of their authority, and restoring freedom to the Soobah. He removed the seat of Government to Monghir, a distance of 320 miles from Calcutta, where, free from observations, he prosecuted his plans of independence with such earnestness that, in less than three years, he considered himself in a position to set their power at defiance. For this rapid progress he was mainly indebted to the exertions of an Armenian, born at Ispahan, generally known by his orientalized name of Gurgin Khan. He was originally a cloth-seller at Hooghly but when entrusted with the responsibilities of office, turned out to be a man of original genius and vast resources. In less than three years he created a force of 15,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry, disciplined on the modes of the company's army, he manufactured firelocks, which were superior to the Tower-proof muskets, he established a foundry for casting cannon, and trained up a corps of artillerymen who would have done credit to the Company's Service. Nothing was wanting to render Meer Cassim more powerful than Ali Verdy Khan had ever been, but a few years of undisturbed leisure."

Holwell of the Calcutta " Black Hole " fame, writes of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

" Khojah Gregory is in the highest degree of favour with the Nawab [Meer Kassim] and his adherents, and has posts of the greatest trust near the Nawab's person, and through him the Armenians in general are setting up an independent footing in this country and carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our investments in all parts."

An Armenian contemporary writer, Thomas Khojamall, who lies buried at the old Armenian cemetery at Agra, where he died in 1780, speaks of Gorgin Khan in terms of the highest praise, but as the encomiums bestowed upon my hero come from an Armenian, I shall, for obvious reasons, refrain from quoting from Khojamall's writings lest my critics should say that I have got an Armenian to sing the praises of another Armenian. I intend however to incorporate Khojamall's account of Gorgin Khan and his Armenian generals in my ' Life of Gorgin Khan ' which will be a contribution to the history of Bengal from 1760-1763.

I must however not omit to mention the interesting account given by the well-known Bengalee novelist, Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee, in his historical romance called " Chandrashekhar " of which an English translation was published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., in 1905. In the second chapter (pp. 37-42) the author of " Bande Mataram," speaks of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

"The name of the addressee of Dalani's (1) letter was Gurgan Khan."

Of all the state-officers who were employed in Bengal at that time, Gurgan Khan was one of the highest and best. By nationality he was an Armenian; Ispahan was his birth-place. A report is current that in early-life he was a clothier, but he was a man of great genius and extraordinary talents. Within a short time of his service, he rose to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Not only that, soon after he came to his new position, he formed an artillery force. He had it properly trained and equipped after European methods; the guns and muskets he manufactured turned out to be even superior to those manufactured in Europe. His artillery force became in every respect equal to the European artillery soldiers. Mir Kasim too, had his hopes that with Gurgan Khan to help him, he would be able to defeat the English. With his rise, Gurgan Khan's influence increased apace. Mir Kasim would not engage in any undertaking without his advice. He would not listen to anybody who spoke contrary to it. In a word Gurgan Khan grew up to be a little Nawab himself; naturally the Mahommedan officials became jealous.

It was midnight; but Gurgan Khan had not yet retired. Alone in lamplight he was reading some letters. They were from certain Armenians at Calcutta. After finishing the letters he called to a servant. A footman came and awaited orders. Gurgan Khan asked:

"Have all the doors been kept open?"

"Yes," answered the footman.

"If any one should like to see me, he must not be obstructed or asked who he was. Have you explained this?"

"Your Excellency's order has been carried out," replied the footman.

"Very well, you can go."

After the footman had gone Gurgan Khan tied up the letters and secreted them in a fitting place. Then he began to meditate. "Now which path to follow? This Hindusthan is now like a sea, whoever dives most, will pick up the largest number of gems. What is the good of counting the waves from the shore? Take my case: I used to measure out cloth with the yard-stick and sell it. Now all India is trembling at my name. I am the master of Bengal. Am I really the master of Bengal? Then who if not I? No, the English merchants are the master, and Mir Kasim is their slave. I am the slave of Mir Kasim, therefore, I am the slave of the master's slave. A very high position indeed! Why shouldn't I be the master of Bengal? Who can stand before my guns? The English? Let me once catch them. But unless I cast them out of this country I cannot be the master. I want to be the ruler of Bengal. I don't mind Mir Kasim; I will tear him away from the throne the very day I shall wish it. He is merely my ladder to mount up to my exalted position. Now that I have got up to the terrace, I can safely kick it. The rascally English are the only thorn. They want to have me under their thumb, I want to have them under mine. But they

(1) Dalani, according to "Chandrashekhar," was the Begum of Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal.

will never come under my thumb; therefore, I must drive them away. Let Mir Kasim continue on the throne for the present; I will co-operate with him and obliterate the British name from Bengal. With that object I am contriving to bring about this war; all this done, I will bid adieu to Mir Kasim. This is the right path. But why do I get this letter so unexpectedly to-day? Why has this girl launched in this reckless adventure?"

Just then the person who occupied his mind entered appearance and stood before him. Gurgan Khan conducted her to a separate seat. She was Dalani Begum.

"I am very glad," said Gurgan Khan, "to see you after such a length of time. I have not had the pleasure of seeing you since you entered the Nawab's seraglio. But why have you embarked in this mad adventure?"

"How mad?" asked Dalani.

"You, the Nawab's Begum," replied Gurgan Khan, "have secretly stolen out at night to my place; if the Nawab should come to know of it, he would kill us both you and me."

"If he at all comes to know of it, I will disclose our relationship. After that there will be no further cause for his displeasure."

"You are a mere girl, therefore you expect such a thing. We have not disclosed our relationship to any one up to this time. That you know me, or that I know you, none of us have yet revealed; and if at the time of danger it is made public, who will believe it? People will call it a subterfuge for escape. You have not done well to come here."

"What is the chance of the Nawab's knowing of it? The sentries are all under your control, and they have let me pass on seeing your token. I have come to ask one word only. Is it a fact there will be war with the English?"

"Don't you hear it talked about in the fort?"

"Yes I do. It is current there that war with the English is inevitable, and you have brought it about, why?"

"You are a mere girl, how shall you understand it?"

"Am I talking like a girl, or am I in the habit of acting as such? When you yourself have planted me in the seraglio as an instrument of your self-advancement, then what is the good of ignoring me as a girl?"

"Let there be war. This war with the English can neither harm you nor me. If it should be war, let it be."

"Do you expect to be victorious?"

"Our victory is most likely."

"Who has been able to defeat the English up to the present moment?"

"How many Gurgan Khans have they fought?"

"Serajuddowla also thought in a similar strain. However, let that go. I am a woman, I believe in what my mind prompts me to. To my mind it seems, that in our war with the English we shall never come off victorious. This war will be our ruin. Therefore, I have come to beseech you—do not advise this war."

"In matters like this a woman's advice is not to be accepted."

Oh, do listen to me! Be my saviour, I see darkness all around!" and Dalani began to weep.

Gurgan Khan was astonished. "Why do you weep?" he asked. "Suppose Mir Kasim should lose his throne, I would take you back to our native country."

Dalani's eyes flashed fire. In a paroxysm of rage she cried, "Dost thou forget that Mir Kasim is my husband?"

A trifle taken aback and confused, Gurgan Khan replied, "No, I do not. But no one's husband lives for ever. After the first, one can take a second husband. I entertain hopes that one day you will be another Nurjehan of India."

Trembling with passion Dalani stood up. She stifled her tears and with dilated eyes and trembling limbs, she began to pour forth:—

"Perdition take you! In an evil moment was I born your sister; in an evil moment did I pledge myself to help you. That a woman is capable of charity, affection, and virtue, does not enter your head. If you desist from instigating this war, well and good; if not, from this day forth, I will disclaim you; or why disclaim only, henceforth I will look upon you as my enemy. I will consider you as my 'dearest foe,' and I wish you also, to know me as such. I will remain your mortal enemy in the palace."

With these words Dalani flung out of the room and went away.

When Dalani had gone away Gurgan Khan began to reflect. He knew that Dalani was no longer his, she was Mir Kasim's. She might have a sister's affection for him but her love for Mir Kasim was far stronger. When she has known, or will know, that the brother is no well-wisher of the husband, she might do the brother an ill-turn for the good of the husband. Therefore, she must not be allowed to enter the fort again. With this decision Gurgan Khan called to a servant.

One of the armed attendants appeared. Gurgan Khan sent orders through him that the sentries must not allow Dalani to enter the fort.

On horseback the courier reached the gate of the fort in advance. Dalani duly arrived there, and was told that her admittance had been forbidden.

At this, she slowly sank on the ground like a torn creeper. Torrents of tears flowed from her eyes, and she exclaimed, "Alas, my brother! you have made me completely desolate."

"Come," suggested Kulsam, "let us go back to the Commander-in-Chief's house."

"You can go if you like," said Dalani, "I will take shelter within the billows of the Ganges."

"In that dark night Dalani stood on the public high-way and wept. The stars were shimmering overhead; the scent of new-blown flowers came floating from the trees; the leaves, mantled in darkness were rustling in a

current of gentle breeze; and Dalani (2), through her tears muttered 'Kulsam.' "

Alas for human greatness and ambition! The phenomenal administrative success and advancement of Nawab Mir Kasim and the meteoric rise of his Chief Minister and Commander-in-Chief to power and prominence did not last long, since every rapid success is invariably followed by a rapid fall. The fall was however, precipitated by the English, for according to Marshman, "the unprincipled conduct of the Council Board in Calcutta," which eventually deprived Mir Kasim of his throne, brought on a rupture between him and the English, which resulted in several battles that were fought between the two armies. The last of these well-contested battles was fought at a place called Gheriah, on the 2nd day of August, 1763, regarding which Marshman writes:—

"The battle lasted four hours, and in the opinion of Clive, never did troops fight better than those of the Nabob. At one period of the action, indeed, they penetrated the English lines and captured two guns, and victory appeared for a time likely to incline to them, but the gallantry of the Europeans and the steadiness of the sepoys bore down all opposition, and the Nabob's troops were constrained to abandon all their guns and stores and retreat to Oodwanulla."

A week after the memorable battle of Gheriah, Gorgin Khan met his death at the hands of an unknown assassin, who it is said had been instigated by the Nawab Mir Kasim. Marshman in his "History of Bengal" gives the following version of the tragic event. "It came out that in the evening three or four Moguls had entered his tent and slain him. It was given out that they had gone to the Commander to ask for their arrears of pay, but he had ordered them to be driven away, on which they drew their swords and murdered him. The fact was that no pay was then due to them, they had been paid nine days previously. At all events, this seems in a manner certain that Kasim Ali [Mir Kasim] had treacherously sent them to kill his Commander-in-Chief Gurgin Khan. A brother of the latter, named Khojah Petrus [the Armenian Petrus of Clive], resided in Calcutta and was on terms of great friendship with Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings. He had secretly written a letter to Gurgin Khan, urging him to quit the Nawab's service, and if he had a good opportunity to make him a prisoner. The Nawab's chief spy got intimation of this, and went at one clock at night to his master, and put him on his guard, by informing him that his Commander-in-Chief was a traitor. Within twenty-four hours of that time the Armenian General, Gurgin Khan, one of the greatest men of the age, was a corpse."

There is no evidence that Gorgin Khan had ever intrigued with his brother in Calcutta; on the contrary, his extraordinary talents in military

(2) Dalani Begum, the heroine of "Chandrashekhar", was not however a historical figure, as Gorgin Khan had no sister in the Nawab's Seraglio. He had only two brothers in India both whom were well-known merchants in Calcutta. He had also a nephew who was an officer in the Army which he had raised for the Nawab.

matters had been wholly devoted to Nawab Mir Kasim's cause, and not even the fraternal affection that he had for his brother Petrus, who was in such high favour with the opposing forces, could have seduced him from his unswerving loyalty to the Nawab. Thomas Khojamall, the Armenian contemporary writer, already referred to, says that when the English secretly wrote and asked him to make a prisoner of the Nawab, for which he would be handsomely rewarded, he replied:—

"I was a humble individual, Kasim Ali Khan trusted and raised me to this high post of honour, I cannot therefore comply with your request. Far from it, that I should betray my master, particularly as it is a distinct national characteristic of the Armenians never to betray their masters, but serve them faithfully and remain loyal to them always."

A man remarkable for his genius and foresight Gorgin Khan played a prominent part in the history of those times and would probably have distinguished himself more in the early days of the British conquest of Bengal, had he not fallen a prey to the sword of an assassin which sad event prematurely closed his illustrious career on Monday, the 11th day of August, 1763.

He was a pious Christian and sent for an Armenian priest to whom he humbly confessed his sins and received the Blessed Sacrament at his hands with great faith and devotion before he expired. His body was removed from the camp with great solemnity and honour and was buried in the village of Brae, where the renegade Sumru, one of the Generals of Gorgin Khan, had encamped with his regiment.

Gorgin Khan had gathered round him about one hundred brave Armenians from various places, some of whom he appointed as officers over the army of which he had the full command.

Major Adams who defeated the Nawab's troops at the memorable battle of Dodwanulla, writing to Governor Vansittart on the 3rd October, 1763, says:—

"We had a report yesterday that Coja Gregore [Gorgin Khan] had been wounded some days ago by a party of his Mogul cavalry who mutinied for want of their pay between Sooage Gurree and Nabob Gunge. It is just now confirmed by a Hircarra arrived from the enemy with this addition that he died the next day and that forty principal people concerned were put to death upon the occasion, though it was imagined that the Mogals were induced to affront and assault Coja Gregore by Cassim Ali Cawn who began to be very jealous of him on account of his good behaviour to the English. If this should prove true, Coja Petruce can be of no further service to us. I therefore would recommend sending him down to Calcutta, but shall wait the directions of the Board on that head.

I must confess this piece of news gives me some concern as by all accounts he behaved very well to our gentlemen. And it was that only that occasioned him to fall under Cassim Aly Cawn's displeasure. Had he lived, he might probably have assisted in effecting their escape, as we hear he frequently was the means of saving their lives as well as the Setts and other prisoners."

As there are various accounts of the murder of Gorgin Khan, I shall now give a detailed account of the assassination, by a Frenchman, Monsieur John Baptiste Joseph Gentil, a personal friend of the Armenian General and an eye witness of the tragedy. The account is to be found on pp. 217-235 of Gentil's "*Memoires sur l' Indoustan, ou Empire Mogol*" published at Paris in 1822. For the English translation of the extract I am indebted to my esteemed friend, Father H. Hosten, S.J. of St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.

Mr. Gentil who was an officer under Gorgin Khan pays the highest tribute to the memory of his friend and expresses the highest admiration of the character of his master and it is the best account I have yet seen coming from a non-Armenian—after what the Mohammedan, Indian and English historians have said of my hero.

Here is Monsieur Gentil's unbiassed account of Gorgin Khan translated from the original French:

" After the capture of Rajmahal, Qasim Ali Khan wrote from his camp to the English general, i.e. Major Thomas Adams, to the effect that if he [Adams] advanced any further, he would swear upon the Quran that he would have all the English prisoners in his control killed.

Major Adams, regarding this threat as merely a scheme conceived in his weakness by the Nawab to prevent him advancing, continued his march. The Nawab turned back to Monghyr, had all his treasure and baggage sent off to Patna, and started for that city himself.

On the Road to Patna the Jagat Seth brothers sent word begging of me to intercede for them with Gurgin Khan. But this latter Officer made me promise not to persist in pleading for them, not only because I could never be successful, but also because by such a step I would find myself involved in their disgrace, there being no possibility of getting them pardoned.

On the way the enemies of the Nawab persuaded him that Gurgin Khan was betraying him. From that moment the Prince vowed he would put an end to that faithful minister, whom calumny had painted as a traitor. Gurgin Khan was not unaware of this detestable design. I was always encamped close to this Minister, and used to have my meals with him. One day when he was late in coming to Dinner, the various dishes that used to be brought each day from the Nawab's camp had been laid out in front of me, and I had commenced to partake of them. Just then the Minister arrived and forbade me to eat any more, saying:—"What are you doing? What! do you not know that you might be poisoned! How imprudent you are, after you have learnt what has been said about me and my brother! I have enemies. Be suspicious of everything." He had the dishes removed forthwith, and had others served up, prepared by hands he did not distrust.

Half way between Monghyr and Patna, an attempt was made to assassinate him; but as I had had my bed placed in front of his tent and by the side of the sentinel, in the open air, solely on account of the great heat, the assassins, thinking their design had been discovered, postponed its execution till the following day.

Next day—a day on which the army had marched—arriving later than usual in consequence of the bad roads, the Minister had dinner served up immediately. After our meal, the heat being excessive, he said to me:—“Let us go over to my Bakhshi’s (paymaster’s) tent; perhaps it will be cooler there.” When he arrived there, not finding it any more comfortable, he decided to go back again to his own quarters. As he was passing through the camp of his Mughal cavalry, when he was in the midst of the horses, a trooper approached and asked him for some money, complaining that, in spite of his pay which he had just received, he had not enough to live upon, having regard to the dearness of provisions. Gurgin Khan, incensed at the demand, called one of his attendants in a loud voice. The trooper withdrew. When he had been talking of other matters, overcome by the heat and anxious to get under shelter, I left him. I had hardly gone thirty steps when I heard shouts for help from three men who had remained with the Minister. Turning round at once I saw the same trooper striking Gurgin Khan with his sword. The men with him were without arms, and dressed in muslin, as was the Minister himself. No assistance could be rendered as three strokes had been inflicted as quick as lightning; the first cut nearly half way through his neck, the second cleft his shoulderbone, and the third cut open his loins. The assassin struck him again in the face when he fell down, tripped up by the long tethering ropes of the horses, over which he had sought to pass to reach his tent, fifty paces away. As he was dressed in muslin, the force with which the sword cut can be imagined. The trooper had scarcely struck him when he disappeared. Running up I helped to place the Minister in his palanquin, and had him carried to his tent. As he made a sign that he wanted a drink, he was given some water, but it came out again through the wound in his neck.

Seeing me by his side, Gurgin Khan fixed his gaze upon me, and made a sign with his hand, being no longer able to speak, striking his thigh with it three times, giving me to understand that he had been the victim of calumny, and that I should be very careful about myself.

While the friends and servants of the Minister were tending him with all care the Mughal trooper, joined by his comrades, threatened to come and massacre the Armenians who were attached to Gurgin Khan’s service. Warned by his secretary (who came and snatched me from the arms of my dying friend) of the danger we were exposed to, I insisted on the Armenian commanders, who ran the same risks, placing strong guards at the four corners of the tent in which the Minister was being tended. They had scarcely followed my advice when the Mughals trained a piece of cannon upon the tent where all were mourning the deplorable end of Gurgin Khan. The Armenians having discovered this, I made them forestall the gunner, who was on the point of putting a light to the gun, by shooting him. This they did, the gunner was killed, and the terrified Mughals dispersed and did not show themselves again. Mounting a horse as soon as ever my unfortunate friend had breathed his last, I rode straight to the Nawab’s camp, where all were under arms. Each of the commanders was coming up with his troop from the direction of Gurgin’s Camp, which was beyond the

Nawab's rear-guard. A report was being spread at this time that the English had just attacked the Minister's camp. At this rumour the troops were assembling without any proper order between the two camps, when Qasim 'Ali Khan came up seated on his elephant, just as I arrived from my side. As soon as the Nawab saw me, he called me up and asked me what had happened. I related briefly the sad and painful spectacle I had just witnessed. The prince appeared affected thereat, and said:—"I had particularly told him never to go about by himself." Then, turning round towards some commanders who accompanied him, he said; "You have just heard what has happened; go back to your tents, "kaire salla" (all goes well)." These last words, uttered in a tone of satisfaction, recalled to my mind the just apprehensions of the Minister as to the fate that was being prepared for him by jealousy and slander. Overcome by the horrible blow that had deprived me of a friend and of all my hopes, I returned to the Nawab's camp.

My situation was critical. A friend—a bosom friend of Gurgin Khan whom I had never left since I had first come to know him, I had just seen him perish under my very eyes without being able to save him. I had escaped myself, I know not how, from the hands of the assassins. In a state of painful uncertainty of mind I went straight to the tent of a Mughal friend of mine, Said-ullah Khan, brother of Mehdi 'Ali Khan, the governor of Patna already mentioned. He received me with all courtesy. It was then 6 p.m. I told him, what had just taken place in a manner that showed my indignation and sympathy with the deceased. The Mughal replied: "Our friend Gurgin Khan had enemies who had defamed him to such an extent that the prince, convinced by all that was told him, may have been incited to this extreme course. I would not like however, to be certain as to this, but all that I have heard said make me think that it is quite possible. It is pretended that he was a traitor to the Nawab, that the English were in league with him, and this was why they kept his brother Khwaja Petrus in their camp." "What a shocking calumny!", I replied, "I have been privy to the most secret acts of Gurgin Khan, and I never observed the slightest infidelity on his part. The English had proposals made to him to leave the Nawab, assuring him that by this step he could save the life of his brother, whom they were carrying as a prisoner in their camp. What was his answer? It was this: I have pledged my faith to Qasim 'Ali Khan; I shall not abandon him while life is in me. I grieve at the lot of my brother; but I could not stoop to better it by a base act. I can make no proposal that would be contrary to the interests of the prince, the master of my destiny, as the English are of that of my brother. I leave all in the hands of Providence....."

Gurgin Khan was far from deserving such a dreadful fate. Not only did Qasim 'Ali Khan owe in part to him the great fortune he had attained, but also the general order that had been introduced in the system of government. Nothing escaped his unremitting vigilance over all branches of the administration. Just, generous prudent, energetic, of unassailable integrity, he was

incessantly busied with everything that could benefit his master or his subjects. The greatest simplicity reigned in his habits, in his equipage, his table and all that pertained to his home. Everything about him disclosed the merits, the goodness and the disinterestedness of the man. In justice I owe him this, and I render it him with the profoundest satisfaction, as a substitute for the flowers that I would like to have been able to lay every day upon his grave.

The illustrations of justice, of generosity and of strict integrity that I could relate of this minister would help to make his character better known. But, however strong be my feelings of affections and gratitude towards him, any description that I might give would be inadequate."

That well-known Mohammedan historian of the period, Seyed Gholam Hossain Khan, the author of the "*Seir Mutaqherin*," (3) or "*Review of Modern Times*," who wrote both as an actor and a spectator, gives the following accounts of the murder of Gorgin Khan and of the events which led to the rout of Mir Kasim's formidable army after the guiding genius and the master mind had been removed. For obvious reasons, Gholam Hossain Khan, like all the Mohammedan historians of the period, paints Gorgin Khan black, and the reason is not far to seek, for it was gall and wormwood to the orthodox Mohammedan "nobleman of high rank," as Monsieur Raymond calls him, to see a foreigner—an Armenian and a Christian at the same time,—at the helm of the military affairs of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, enjoying the full confidence of Nawab Mir Kasim, who, according to Marshman, "was mainly indebted to the exertions of an Armenian for his rapid rise." Is it any wonder then that the Mohammedan chronicler, consoles himself with the thought that "that ill-fated man, in retribution for his malicious turn of mind, was hastily sent over the stream that divides the world from the other."

As a matter of fact, when he introduces Gorgin Khan to his readers for the first time, he speaks of him with an animus, as will be seen from the following introduction. "But a man who now appeared for the first time upon the horizon, and soon rose to engross the Navvab's unbounded confidence, was an Armenian called Qhadja-Gurgin brother to Qhadja-Bedross. He was put at the head of the artillery, with orders to new-model it after the European fashion, and likewise to discipline the musketeers in his service after the English manner; troops, which to this day have retained the name of Telingas, in imitation of their patterns and models. To raise his character, he was henceforward called Gurghin-Khan, and distinguished by many favours, and he soon became the principal man in the Navvab's service. There was no man equal to him in that prince's employment: none had so

(3) The "*Seir-Mutaqherin*" or "*Suyar-ul-Mutakherin*," that is a "*Review of Modern Times*" (or more correctly "*The Manners of the Moderns*") is the chronicle of the decay of the Mogul Empire and the Mohammedan domination of India during the reigns of the seven last Emperors of Hindoosthan. It was written in Persian in 1780 A.D. (1194 A.H.) by Syed Gholam Hossain Khan, a Moslem nobleman, who used to reside, with his father, at the courts of the Nawabs of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, prior to the days of British supremacy.

much credit upon his mind; and to this day, no General ever had the art of governing his master in so complete a manner; he, like the devil, was endlessly running after Mir-Cassim-qhan, and having once laid hold of him, he mastered him, and kept him under at pleasure."

Throughout his account of the events which occurred in Bengal during the rule of Nawab Mir Kasim from 1760-1763 he never misses an opportunity to disparage Gorgin Khan, who by sheer merit had risen to the highest post in the government of the province, for he was not only the Commander-in-Chief of Nawab Mir Kasim, but his Minister, and adviser as well.

And this is how Gholam Hossain Khan narrates the events of that memorable campaign of 1763 in which Gurgin Khan lost his life, Mir Kasim his throne and the *Subah* its independence.

"The second night, the date of which I cannot remember, a mighty revolution happened suddenly, and an important event took place unexpectedly. Gurghin-Khan was killed; and that ill-fated man, in retribution for his malicious turn of mind, was hastily sent over the stream that divides the world from the other. This strange event happened in the following manner: Gurghin-qhan, who was upon ill terms with all the world, but who studied the English in every thing, wanted to carry a high hand over the soldiery; and in a time of confusion and misfortune, he strove to keep them under that strictness of discipline, which he had seen practised amongst those of that nation; he was not aware that this power of the English over their soldiers, was a gift of Providence; and that that nation had found the art of turning the particular customs of their country into a second nature in their troops.

'Great will ever be the distance between the pattern and the copy.'

How could the poor Armenian, after having sold cloth by the yard throughout his whole life, pretend, that with an authority of only two days standing, he would be able to pass such rules of strict obedience and discipline over a nation, not his own, and which was not yet accustomed to so much regularity and strictness?

"The crow, wholly intent on learning the linnet's note,
Forgot to look at it's own black coat first of all."

The Navvab having taken post on the banks of the Rahva, where he tarried two or three days, Gurghin-qhan, who conformably to his custom, always came the last of all, and always encamped by himself was actually in his tent when two or three Mogul troopers from amongst those he had disciplined and trained himself, came and asked something about their pay. The General answered in an angry peevish manner; but the two men, availing themselves of the unprosperous state of affairs, and of the revolution that had taken place, had the daringness to speak with violence; Gurghin-qhan, without attending to the difference of times, screamed out, *what? is there no one there to take these men into confinement?* He had hardly uttered these four words, when those men finding themselves alone with him, drew their sabres, and in three or four strokes, stretched him on the ground; and their horses being just at the door, they got upon them in an instant, and fled through the fields. The servants having immediately raised an outcry,

which brought General Marcar (4), another Armenian; the latter, on descrying the troopers beyond the reach of a musket-ball, fired at them with two or three pieces of cannon that were at hand, loaded with grape; and the report of the cannon being heard by Mir Cassim's army, which was at a small distance, every one concluded that the English were arrived, and had already engaged Gurghin-qhan. Instantly Mir-Cassim had the same thought; instantly he got upon his elephant, and took to the fields. At the same time, a general scream, and now and then some confused cries, coming from Gurghin-qhan's quarters, struck such a terror into Mir-Cassim's camp, and especially amongst the sutlers and other market-men, that the whole of them, without making the least inquiry, fled on all sides, most of them towards the bridge on the Rahva. The multitude, which was encamped with me on the other side of the river, surprised to see crowds of runaways endlessly pouring upon them, caught their fears and trepidation; and night coming on, nothing was heard but cries and screams. But, as every one was involved in the general confusion, and saw the mob running to and fro like so many mad men, whilst the great ones were advancing in haste with burning tapers, such a sight thunderstruck Yosofaaly-qhan, one of our company, who being as well as Mirza-bakyr, full as much frightened as any other resolved at any rate to inquire into the cause; and then sent people to take some information from the runaways. But, every one of these giving a different answer, served only to perplex. This diversity augmented our consternation, as there was no getting certain information, about the tumult, and some people conceived causes, which they did not dare to mention, for fear of Mir-Cassim's resentment. All these discordant reports, however, agreed in one point, and this was, in producing some piece of extravagant news, which being spread in a twinkling amongst the runaways, increased their fears and added to the confusion. Meanwhile the throng became innumerable at the bridge, and the passage being now dangerous, seemed to retrace an idea of the bridge of *Seratt*, at the day of judgment, for the crowds were now pouring in such numbers on both sides, that the passage became impracticable for people on foot.

Elephants and carts cut their way through the multitudes, and, as their treading over the boards of the flooring forced the boats to strike against each other the noise bore a likeness to a report of distant firing of cannon: news then came that the English had gained the victory, and as it was thought that the little river only divided the combatants, people prepared their cannon also on this side, and Yosofaaly-qhan resolved either to pack up his baggage, and get ready at all events, or to run away to some place of shelter. But, he was prevented by Mir-Shetari and myself, who insisted on some information. At about midnight the uproar commenced subsiding, and I sent a

(4) Monsieur Raymond, the translator of the "Seir" speaks of General Marcar as follows: "This Armenian had served in Holland and in more than one occasion has approved himself possessed of a very eminent qualification in a General; taking his party suddenly, in sudden emergencies. He is now in Calcutta, subsisting upon the benevolence of his countrymen. He is a well-looking, square set, man, very strong."

trusty servant, with orders to stop on this side of the bridge, and as soon as he should discover any person of some consequence, to let him pass first, and then only to ask what was the matter? The man did as he was bid, and stopping at the bridge, he saw a close paleky making towards it with three or four horsemen attending, the man walked a while with them, and then asked whose lady was in the close paleky? One of the horsemen answered. It is not a lady, it is Gurghin-qhan's corpse: we carry it to the fields for burial. It is the Nawab's order.

On this answer, the man returned with this intelligence, and made us all easy, so that we passed the remainder of the night quietly enough. On the morning, Mir-Cassim himself passed the river and encamped on the spot where we were. The next day he advanced to the town of Bar, where he ordered Djagat Sett Mahtab-Roy and Radja Seropchund, his brother, to be hacked to pieces."

Monsieur Raymond (5), the translator of the "Seir Mutaqherin," in a long foot-note on page 279 of the second volume of the "Seir," printed at Calcutta in 1789, speaks of the causes which led to the murder of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

"The causes, which no one dared to mention, are a conspiracy said to be brewing by Gurghin-qhan, incited underhand by the English. His brother, Aga Bedross, alias Codja Petruss, then residing at Calcutta, and an acquaintance of Governor Vansittart's, as well as of Mr. Warren Hastings, had, on their joint request, wrote pressingly to his brother, to engage him by all the motives which religion and a regard for his own safety could suggest, to lay hold of the person of Mir-Cassim qhan, or at least, to come himself to the English camp with his own troops and friends. But, this negotiation having been somehow smelt out by Mir-Cassem's head-spy, he came at one clock in the morning, ordered him to be waked, and laying hold of him by the arm, *what are you doing in your bed, said he, whilst your General, Gurghin-qhan, is actually selling you to the Frenghis? He is of intelligence with those without, and possibly with those within, with your prisoners.*

(5) Monsieur Raymond was a French Creole born in Constantinople. He went to France in 1741 and was educated at Paris. In 1761 he came out to India and was employed as a writer in the French Service on the Coromandel Coast till 1766. He then joined the English Service in Bengal as interpreter to Clive but was dismissed by him in 1768. He tried to reach Pondicherry but was stopped on his journey at Masulipatam and sent with his Papers to Bengal to be tried as a spy. He was imprisoned for some months but was released in March, 1761. He then went to Manilla in 1761 but returned once more to Bengal when he was employed by Governor Vansittart in the inland trade. In 1770 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and assumed the name of Hajee Mustapha from which it is quite evident that he had embraced the faith of Islam. He was an accomplished linguist and at the request of his English friends, he translated from the original Persian the "Seir" of Gholam Hossain Khan and published it at Calcutta in 1789. It was dedicated to Warren Hastings who was a great patron of oriental learning. The whole edition of the translation was however lost on the voyage to England except a few copies that were circulated in Calcutta by the translator. And it is from one of these rare copies, in the Library of the "Asiatic Society of Bengal," that the extracts about Gorgin Khan, have been taken. Monsieur Raymond, alias Hajee Mustapha, died as a Moham-medan, in 1791.

Such was then the general report at that time, and I remember that the very purport of the letter was handed about by the Armenians of Calcutta. As to the Moguls murmuring for their pay, as pretends our author, their plea must have been a fictitious one, for the author himself says, that the army had been mustered and paid a week before. It is also certain, that there never was the least murmuring amongst the troops, as they were regularly paid as late as the passage over the Ceremnassa. This much is certain, that it was this rumour of a conspiracy that put Mir-Cassem on one hand upon dispatching his General, and on the other, upon ridding himself of his prisoners of all sorts, and some such things appear, not only in the Prince's speech to Ferhat-Aaly, but also in our author's narrative, who positively says, that the English prisoners had found means to provide a quantity of money, with a sufficiency of ammunition and arms. As to that Gurghin-qhan, upon whom our author, out of natural antipathy, or for some other cause, is endlessly pouring a deal of abuse, it appears evidently, that he was a man of superior talents and a soaring genius. What are we to think of a seller of cloth by the yard, who conceives and executes the scheme of disciplining troops in the European manner, or making better cannon and better muskets than the English themselves, of casting, mounting and training an artillery, nearly equal to theirs, of introducing order, subordination and discipline, amongst people totally strangers to them? Had Mir-Cassem-qhan possessed three more such geniuses as Gurghin-qhan, Mahomed-taky-qhan and Nedjef-qhan, it is highly probable that the author of these remarks would never have worn an embroidered *malma* worth fifty rupees on his back, not stuck a poniard of jewel-work in his sash."

In another Foot-note in the "Seir," Monsieur Raymond speaks of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

"It was he who trained and disciplined the Navvab's Cavalry, infantry and artillery, in the English manner, and if half trained, as were those troops, a simple detachment of them fought and defeated the troops of Major Castairs, which were full as numerous as those that won the battle of Plassy, what would he not have done, had he had a delay of two years more, to train them thoroughly. It is probable that he would have ruined the English in time; for he has taking every measure which could render the Navvab independent. But so far was he from precipitating his master into a war with the English, that whenever he saw him impatient at the haughtiness and pride of these strangers, he used to say: "bear and forbear; you are not yet fledged, reserve that anger, till the time when you shall have feathers to your wings."

Would such a loyal and faithful servant have conspired against his master? But then the Mohammedan historians in general, and Gholam Hossain Khan in particular, say that he was a traitor and in league with the English, and in the words of Marc Antony," they are all honourable men"! Let History pass its verdict after hearing the testimony of the two unbiassed Frenchmen, Messieurs Gentil and Raymond, both of whom knew Gorgin Khan personally and were well aware of his innocence.

After the tragic death of Gorgin Khan, his afflicted brother, Khojah Petrus of Calcutta, in order to commemorate his memory, had an additional altar erected in the Armenian Church of Calcutta and had it dedicated to his memory and that sacred edifice, it is sad to reflect, is the only vestige that is left of that remarkable man, since there is no trace of his grave at Brae where his mortal remains were laid to rest in August 1763, unwept, unhonoured and unsung, by an irony of Fate.

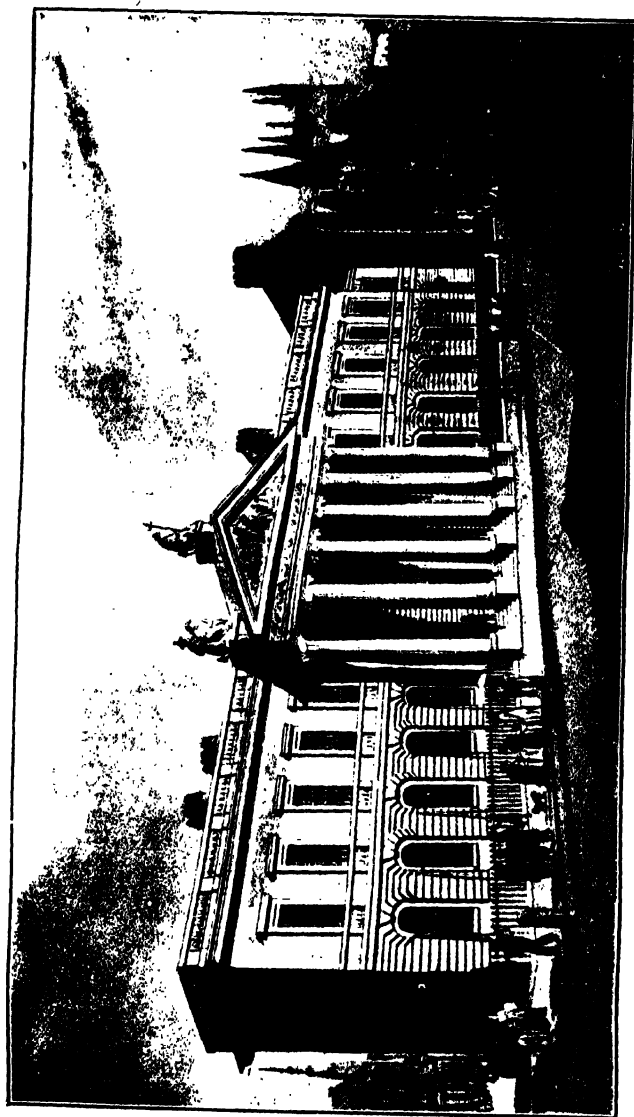
Before concluding I may mention that there exists somewhere in Bengal a portrait of Gorgin Khan, in oriental costume, with a peculiar head-gear, and our indefatigable secretary has seen it some years ago, but despite all my strenuous efforts, I have not yet succeeded in tracing the same. I shall be glad if any of the readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*, will let me know where it can be seen. There is however a beautiful pen-portrait of the remarkable military genius by Monsieur Raymond, the translator of the "Seir Mutaqherin," who describes Gorgin Khan in the following terms:

"Gurghin-ghan was a man born at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, and had a very remarkable physiognomy. He was above the ordinary size, strong built, with a very fair complexion, large black eyes, full of fire, an aquiline nose, forming a ridge in the middle of its length, and eyebrows very arched, that joined together, so as to form a point going downwards towards the nose. He was then aged about thirty-six and I have spoke twice to him. Nothing was wanting to that man to render him capable of shining, even in Europe, but education. He owed everything to his own genius, and nothing to art or cultivation."

Monsieur Raymond has however overstated the age of Gorgin Khan, for he was thirty when he took service under Nawab Mir Kasim in 1760, and was therefore in his thirty-third year when he fell a victim to the sword of an unknown assassin on the 11th August 1763.

Peace to his soul, rest to his ashes, and may his revered memory be cherished at all times by his countrymen, from the banks of the Ganges to the Aras the sacred river of Armenia.

MESROVB J. SETH.



THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.
(Demolished in 1861.)

The Editor's Note Book.

THE new building of Lloyd's Corporation, which has been erected at the corner of Leadenhall Street and Lime Street, in the City of London, has obliterated East India Avenue and with it the last memory of the India House which stood upon the same site. Much of the furniture is at the India Office, and the Secretary of State, when he presides at the meetings of his Council, sits in the seat of the Chairman of the Court of Directors. But all trace of the House itself vanished in 1861, when it was pulled down and the site sold to a syndicate. The large block of offices which then took its place has disappeared in its turn: and now that East India Avenue has gone also; Bengal Court, off Cornhill, alone remains to recall the past associations of the City with India, unless the Committee of Lloyd's see fit to affix a tablet to the new building or to emblazon the arms of the East India Company over the main entrance, in accordance with a suggestion which has, we believe, been made to them by Sir William Foster. The original of this India House, as we know from him, was a mansion acquired from Lord Craven on lease in the year 1648. By 1725 the accommodation at Craven House had become insufficient: and the Ship and Bell taverns and other adjoining premises were bought. Upon this site the India House was erected and completed in January 1729. Our illustration is taken from an old colour print without an inscription, of which a copy was sent to the Calcutta Historical Society by Mr. A. F. C. de Cosson in 1914. In the immediate neighbourhood, off Birchin Lane, in Cornhill, is Bengal Court. The name dates only from July 1906. It was previously known as White Lion Court, presumably from a tavern.

SITUATED likewise off Cornhill is Cowper's Court, named after the City family of which, the poet was a member. Here was the famous Jerusalem Coffee House which survived until 1879, when it made way for Jerusalem Chambers. It was, says William Hickey in the second volume of his *Memoirs* (p. 97), "the general resort of all those who had anything to do with India." He went there in December 1768 to meet Captain John Waddell of the *Plassey* and arrange for his first voyage to the East which took him to Madras and Canton and back to London in April 1770. Captain Waddell told him that "he had just taken leave of the Court of Directors," a function at which it was necessary to appear in full uniform, and that he must send his chest down to the ship at Gravesend as soon as possible and be on board himself in a week's time. Six years later, in December 1776, we find him going twice a week in order to ascertain the dates of dispatch of "the early Madras and China ships." In January 1777, he went to interview Captain David Arthur of

the *Sea Horse*, the ship which took him to Calcutta to begin his career as an attorney of the Supreme Court. He was given a cabin with three other passengers and learned from the purser that he must forthwith send one hundred guineas for a seat at the captain's table, which was double of what he had paid to Captain Waddell.

SO great was the renown of the Jerusalem Coffee House that when John McDonald, an enterprising dancing master who came out to Calcutta "Jerusalem Rooms" in Calcutta, in the *William Pitt* in 1790, opened a Public Exchange at the corner of Council House Street and Dalhousie Square, on the spot now occupied by the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank House, he did not forget to provide a "Jerusalem Room," where the Captains of the Indiamen lying in the river and the "country captains" might foregather. In 1800 the building was taken over on lease by Lord Wellesley for his short-lived College of Fort William which started on its career on November 24. McDonald's speculation, says Hickey (Vol. IV. p. 238), did not answer his expectations: and he was glad to obtain so good a tenant. In 1836 we hear of "a plan to connect with Spence's Hotel an establishment similar to that of the Jerusalem Coffee House in London, where all kinds of shipping intelligence will be procurable and letter bags will be made up." In 1840 both the hotel and the coffee-rooms were in Loudon Buildings, which covered the present site of the treasury and the old Government of India Secretariat in Government Place West. Lastly, when the Auckland Hotel, which is known to us as the Great Eastern Hotel, was rebuilt in 1858, it included among its attractions the "Calcutta Jerusalem subscription Assembly and Reading-rooms for merchants, brokers, and captains of ships."

OUTSIDE the City each of the Presidencies is represented in the list of London Street names. Calcutta Street is in Limehouse, in the neighbourhood of the East India Docks. Bombay Street is one of the turnings off Southwark Park Road in the borough of Bermondsey. Madras Place is in North London and runs at right angles to and between, Liverpool Road and Holloway Road. Outside London, in the suburban borough of Ilford on the east. Bengal Road and Madras Road may be found off the Romford Road. Delhi Street is the name given to a small street close to York Road station, in the borough of Islington: and Outram Street and Havelock Street are its next door neighbours.

FOUR historic colours have been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the Regimental Trustees of the Royal Munster Fusiliers. The first frame contains the colour presented to the Second Bengal European Regiment at Hazaribagh in October, 1839. The second holds the colour presented to them at Agra in March 1850, by Mr. James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces; at that time they were known as the Second Bengal European Fusiliers and "Punjaub, Chillian Wallah, Goozerat" are inscribed

The Colours of
the Bengal
Europeans.

on the colour. In 1861 they were incorporated into the Infantry of the line as the 104th Bengal Fusiliers: and the third colour was presented to them at Bareilly on February 25, 1863, by Sir Hugh Rose, Commander-in-Chief in India. "Pegu" and "Delhie" had by this time been added to the battle-honours. The fourth colour is that of the third Bengal Europeans who were embodied at Chinsurah in 1853. Each colour marks a definite stage in the history of this famous regiment which was merged in 1881 in the Royal Munster Fusiliers and ceased to exist in 1922 upon the disbandment of that equally famous regiment.

IT is, we fancy, not generally known that Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood, the present Commander-in-Chief, is connected with the family of Sir Elijah Impey. His mother's father, Surgeon-Major Sir William Birdwood and the Impey family. Elijah George Halhed Impey of the Bombay Horse Artillery and Postmaster-General of Bombay, was the son of the Chief Justice's elder brother, James Impey, who practised as a physician near Richmond and died at Naples in 1756. There was a third Elijah Impey in India—a surgeon on the Bengal establishment and medical officer to the Governor-General's Bodyguard, who died at Ballygunge on June 10, 1821 at the age of forty, and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery: but his parentage has not been ascertained by Major Hodson, the historian of the Bodyguard, to whom we are indebted for the interesting particulars regarding the "Chief." In days when the Bodyguard was quartered at Ballygunge, both Sir William Birdwood and Major Hodson were attached to it for duty.

WE have an account of the formation of the Bodyguard from Warren Hastings himself: "The troop of horse appointed for my bodyguard in 1773 was raised, formed and disciplined by Major The Governor-General's Bodyguard. Sweny Toone, but did not immediately perform the duty assigned to it by its institution, being first employed on service against the Senneasses [Sanyasis] and immediately after in the campaign against the Rohillas under Colonel Champion." In later years the Bodyguard saw active service (as their standard shows) at Java, Ava, Maharajpore, Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon.

SWENY TOONE, who is mentioned by Hastings as the first commandant of the Bodyguard, was a fellow-passenger with him to England in the Sweny Toone. *Berrington* in January 1785, and was subsequently a Director of the East India Company from 1800 to 1830. He had been invalided home in 1775 but returned to Bengal in 1782 as aide-de-camp to Hastings whom he accompanied on his journey to the upper provinces. At the India House he made it his business to represent Hastings: and numerous letters from him are preserved among the Hastings Mss. There is a memorial tablet in St. John's Chapel (near Lord's Cricket Ground) which records his death at Keston Lodge, Kent, on October 2, 1835, at the age of eighty-nine. Two of his three sons, Francis Hastings and James Hastings,

were godsons of Hastings and his wife. Francis became a member of the Select Committee at Canton: and James, who was a cavalry cadet, died at Ghazipur on November 30, 1822, at the age of twenty-one. The third son, Henry Levett Toone, who was a young writer, died at Calcutta on March 31, 1811, at the age of eighteen. Another member of the family, William Livie Malone Toone, who was also in the Civil Service, died at Calcutta on March 30, 1838, at the age of twenty-six. Major Hodson informs the writer of these notes that an oil-painting of Sweny Toone was offered for sale some ten years ago to Mr. Durham, of Cromer Grange, who is a descendant of the Colonel's brother, General Sir William Toone. Its present location is unknown.

DURING an examination for another purpose of the file of the *Calcutta Gazette* for the year 1803, an advertisement was discovered in the issue of May 26, which throws light upon one of the residences in Calcutta of James Augustus Hicky, the turbulent editor of the *Bengal Gazette*. The sale by public auction is announced for Friday, May 27, of "a variety of property belonging to the late Mr. James Augustus Hicky," by order of the administrator, William Jackson. The first item in the list is:

A well-known garden-house in which there are two Halls, 16 feet by 14, and two Bedrooms of rather larger dimensions, pukka built and capable of bearing an upper storey; situated at Mootchee-collah Hooda Toltollah, in the lane which leads from the Entally great road southward by Mr. Thos. Templeton's house and distant therefrom about 150 yards. The ground is well stocked with fruit trees, contains two tanks, and measures per pottah three beegahs and seventeen cottahs.

The house fetched Rs. 1,510. In Major Schallch's map of 1829 "Mr. Templeton's House" is shown some distance up Puddopookur Street, in Entally. Two other pieces of ground are likewise mentioned in the advertisement, one at Entally and the other in "Dhee Tupsee Mizah Coostey." Among the articles of miscellaneous property are "a printing press out of repair, some cases and types." The exact date of Hicky's death has not been ascertained: but it was pointed out in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1925 (Vol. XXX p. 126) that Mr. J. J. Cotton had come across the name of "Dr. J. Hickey" in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1803 in the list of deceased persons. He probably died in December 1802.

IN his "Pen and Pencil Sketches in India," a book published in London in 1832, Captain Geoffrey C. Mundy gives an account of Dacca where he Dacca in 1829. where he arrived by boat on March 10, 1829, in attendance on Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief. "Ere sunrise," he writes, "we were floating past the five miles of half-ruined, half-habitable half-splendid, half-paltry edifices, which extending along the edge of the stream, constitute the town of Dacca: and shortly after, our fleet was moored

opposite the Civil station." After an allusion to the sketches of Sir Charles D'Oyly, which may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall, and a comment upon the Company's stud of three hundred elephants, he proceeds: "The town is closely hemmed in by jungles of hundreds of miles in extent, in some parts totally impenetrable." These fastnesses, he says, are "the great preserves of tigers": and "the streams are alive with those river-pests, alligators." Later in the year, "the sporting club of Dacca make very successful expeditions into the neighbouring jungles, residing for two or three days at a time in convenient shooting bungalows, established for the purpose." The shoot that was organized for Lord Combermere was provided with "a line of no less than sixty elephants:" but nothing was carried home except "two enormous elks, a couple of hogs, several deer, and a few heads of small game."

THE Commander-in-Chief was visited by the Nawab Shums-ood-Dowlah, who had been implicated (says Mundy) in the murder by Wazir Ali of Mr. Cherry at Benares in January, 1799, and who, after spending some years in confinement at Calcutta, was now a pensioner of the Company at Dacca. While at Calcutta, he had been under the charge of William Hickey as Deputy Sheriff in 1801. He was, says Hickey (Vol. IV, p. 252), the brother of the Nawab of Dacca: "After several conversations I became warmly interested in him and I had ultimately the gratification of feeling that I had been instrumental in first obtaining his release from imprisonment and subsequently a general pardon from Sir George Barlow, then Governor-General" (1805-1807). Shums-ood-Dowlah expressed great gratitude to Hickey who expected "some handsome present when he should have reached his family mansion at Dacca:" but in this he was disappointed: "not even a single piece of muslin" was ever sent to him.

SHAMS-UD-DOWLA was, as a matter of fact, confined as a State prisoner at Calcutta from 1799 to 1805. Mr. J. T. Rankin in his historical account of Dacca, which is incorporated in the Bengal District Gazetteer, quotes the following passage from a despatch of the Court of Directors, written in 1805 on the occasion of his release:

When we consider the magnitude of the crimes of which Shums-ood-Dowlah was convicted and the number and variety of the projects in which he was engaged for the subversion of our Empire, extending from Behar to the Court of Zemaun Shah and even to Persia, including also a plan concerted with persons at Muscat for the introduction of a body of Arabs into our provinces, in consequence of which Arab ships actually arrived in 1796 and 1797 at the Fort of Calcutta, having on board armed men and military stores,

the commanders of which ships had orders to obey such directions as they might receive from Shums-ood-Dowlah. We cannot but feel some doubt concerning the wisdom and prudence of setting free so dangerous a character.

Shams-ud-Daula affected royal state on his return to Dacca and thereby attracted the unfavourable notice of Heber. Mundy says that he had an English carriage "something in the Lord Mayor's style" which was presented to him by the British Government in acknowledgment of a gift of eight elephants "made at the epoch of the Ava war when these animals were in great request." He was the youngest of the grandsons of Jusserat Khan, a former Government Mohurrir in the Dacca district, who had succeeded Rajbullub Khan, the Naib Nazim of Dacca, whose wealth was the ostensible cause of Siraj-ud-daula's attack on the English Company in 1756. On the death in 1822 of his brother Nasrat Jang, he was permitted to succeed as head of the family only, and died in 1831. The Court of Directors had already declared in 1805 that "the office of Naib Nazim in the Dacca division was purely ministerial, like the corresponding situations in the Moorshedabad division and in Behar, and can in no way be considered as having any of the attributes of property or sovereignty attaching to it, like the dignity of Nazim." The family came to an end in 1843.

THE apartment of Shams-ud-Daula in the jail at Calcutta were subsequently occupied by Moizuddin, the third son of Tippoo Sultan and the younger of the two hostages handed over to Lord Cornwallis in 1792. He was accused of tampering with the sepoys at Vellore, where he was detained with his brothers after the fall of Seringapatam, and where a serious mutiny accompanied by several murders broke out in 1806. Hickey was also in charge of him as Deputy Sheriff and has much to say about him (Vol. IV, pp. 350, 378). He died in confinement on March 30, 1818. Another son of Tippoo is mentioned by Fanny Parks in the first volume of her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim." On October 1, 1823, she records in an entry made at Calcutta:

We have had a singular visitor, Shahzadah Zahangeer Zaman Jamh o Deen Mahommud, Prince of Mysore, the son of Tippoo Sahib and one of the two hostages. He resides in a house near us [in Chowringhee]. He had studied English for twelve months... The next day he sent three decanters full of sweetmeats accompanied by this note: "Some sweetmeats for Misses with respectful thanks of P. Jamh o Deen."

The visitor could not have been "one of the two hostages," for Abdul Khalik, the elder, died on December 1, 1807. Prince Jami-ud-din as a matter of fact, was the ninth son of Tippoo Sultan. He seems later on to have found his way to London, for he was elected a member of the Oriental Club in 1837, and died in 1842.

MENTION is also made by Hickey of another State prisoner, Vizier Ally (Wazir Ali) who after the massacre at Benares in January 1799, was handed over to the Company by the Rohilla Chief, with whom he had taken refuge and conveyed to Calcutta "where he was lodged in one of the bomb proofs under the ramparts of Fort William, theretofore used as a magazine for military stores, and kept a close and solitary prisoner, no persons whatever being allowed access to him except the officer of the guard placed around his prison, and occasionally a Magistrate of Calcutta who visited him in order to report to the Governor-General the state he was in." According to some accounts he was removed at a later date to Vellore and died there. But there seems no reason to doubt the statement in *Calcutta Old and New* that his tomb is in the Kasia Bagan burial-ground near the Bamun bustee police thana on the east side of the Circular Road. The lengthy inscription on the tomb bears the name of "the Vizier of Hindustan, Wazir Ali Asuf Jah." He was the adopted son of Asaf-ud-daula and his succession to the throne was acknowledged by Sir John Shore in 1797. Shore was however obliged to order his deposition, and to arrange for his residence under surveillance at Benares with a stipend of two lakhs a year. Wellesley's determination to remove him to Calcutta was the cause of his attack upon Cherry. He died in May 1817 at the age of thirty-six. The expenses of his marriage in 1796 amounted to thirty lakhs of rupees: his funeral cost 70 rupees.

THE *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1799 gives a list of those who were murdered at Benares on the morning of January 14: but it is inaccurate in some particulars. The victims were: Robert Graham, first assistant collector, Tirhoot, George Frederick Cherry, senior judge of the provincial court of appeal, Richard Evans, writer to Mr. Cherry, Charles Hall, "a gentleman who resided at Benares and traded in a private capacity" as assistant to Messrs. Williams and Grant and Captain Edward Sayer Conway, "only 37 years of age, who went to India as a cadet at 16." Samuel Davis, the judge and magistrate, defended himself and his family in his house: and (says Hickey who presents us with an account of the tragedy in the fourth volume of his *Memoirs*), Pellegrine Treves, Benjamin D'Aguilar a merchant, and other European gentlemen, galloped off to the cantonments at Secrole and gave the alarm.

THE spear with which Samuel Davis, the judge, defended the narrow stairway in Nandesur House, against the attack of Wazir Ali, was not a hog-spear, as is generally supposed. Sir John Francis Davis, the son of Samuel Davis, makes this perfectly clear in his account of "The Massacre of Benares" a privately printed little book which is extremely rare, in spite of the fact that it was twice published, first in 1844 and again in 1871. Upon observing the approach of Wazir Ali and his train, Davis ran downstairs for his firearms: but noticing that an armed horseman was already in the doorway, "he bethought him

The famous spear of Nandesur House.

of a pike or spear which he had upstairs." The pike "was one of those used by running footmen in India." It was of iron-plated with silver, in rings, to give a firmer grasp, rather more than six feet in length, and had a long triangular blade of more than twenty inches, with sharp edges. Sir John Davis was able to describe the weapon with such particularity and to give a representation of it on the cover of his book, because his father took it to England with him, and after his death in 1819, it stood for many years in a corner of the drawing room of his widow's house in Portland place. Mountstuart Elphinstone was in Benares at the time of the murder of Mr. Cherry and the defence of Nandesur House, as assistant to Davis: and the late Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, who was a grandson of Davis, relates, in his *Many Memories*, that Elphinstone used to pay a yearly visit to Mrs. Davis on the anniversary and "do pooja to the spear."

AN account of Elphinstone's experience may be found in his life by Colebrooke (1884: Vol. I, p. 13). Sir Robert Houston of Jordanhill was Elphinstone's Ad- staying at Benares from December 1798 to May 1799, venture, and was with Elphinstone on the morning of the outbreak. "We knew nothing of the murders around us," he writes, "till all the other Europeans had been destroyed or had fled: when we mounted our horses and were chased by a body of the enemy whose pursuit we eluded by riding through a high sugar plantation." Elphinstone's official chief was Davis of whom he says: "He was one of the pioneers of Sanskrit literature and the first to lay before the world an accurate account of the astronomy of the Hindus." In his letters home he mentions him in high terms: "I am, as I told you before, under a Mr. Davis whom I liked well at first and who improves on acquaintance." Davis was an accomplished artist, and the collection of his sketches at the Victoria Memorial bear ample testimony to his skill.

THOMAS PALMER, who came out to Bengal as a writer in 1792, was also attached to the Residency at Benares at the time. He was at Moor- Three fine sheep shedabad in the spring of 1796 and wrote as follows on for a rupee. March 6 to his sister in England:

A gentleman of my most intimate acquaintance after being six or seven years in this part of India, made a visit to England. His father and mother and sisters heard all the wonderful stories he told with great attention and implicit confidence, until he by accident told them a true one, which was no other than this, that in the Upper Provinces three fine sheep sell for a rupee. After hearing this, they never believed another word he said.

Palmer died at Sherghati on September 24, 1799, at the age of twenty-seven. He was the uncle of Roundell Palmer, Lord Chancellor and first Earl of Selborne, who quotes the letter in his *Family and Personal Memorials* (Vol. I, p. 14). Mention has already been made of him in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXIX, p. 144) as the painter of a reduced copy of the portrait

of Warren Hastings by Tilly Kettle in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This copy is now in the possession of the East India United Service Club in London.

THE name of another Anglo-Indian uncle of Lord Selborne is associated with the burning of the *Kent* Indiaman during a gale in the Bay of Biscay in March 1825. Among the passengers was Lieut.-Col. (afterwards Major-General) Robert Bryce Fearon of the 40th Foot who was in command of the troops on board, and was accompanied by his wife and several daughters. Perfect discipline was observed, and eventually nearly all were saved and brought into Falmouth by the 100-ton brig *Cambria* which was carrying Cornish miners to Vera Cruz, and have in sight when almost all hope was gone. It is recorded that the eldest Miss Fearon displayed remarkable fortitude, and that Sir Ralph Palmer who was Chief Justice of Madras from 1825 to 1836, resolved, on reading an account of the wreck, that the young Lady should become Lady Palmer, a resolution which he duly carried into effect. Another of the daughters who was a very young child at the time of the disaster, married Sir Alexander Arbuthnot of the Madras Civil Service who was Home Member of the Viceroy's Council from 1875 to 1880, and a member of the Council of India from 1887 to 1897.

TWO pictures of the burning of the *Kent* were painted by William Daniell. The first was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1825, and is described in the catalogue as: "The distressed situation of the *Kent* the *Kent*." East Indiaman, Captain Henry Cobb, when on fire in the Bay of Biscay on 1st March 1825: from authentic information." The second was exhibited at the Academy in 1826 and shows the *Cambria* receiving the last boat load from the *Kent*. Aquatints of both pictures were published by Daniell. The rescue attracted considerable attention: and a medal was struck and presented to the captain and crew of the brig. On the obverse is a view of the *Cambria* have to; the *Kent* in flames is on the right and two boats are shown on the left: below are the words "1 March, 1825." On the reverse is a legend round the edge: "From Falmouth, Truro, Helston, Penryn and St. Ives;" and in the centre are the words. "To commemorate the destruction of the *Kent* East Indiaman by fire in the Bay of Biscay: and the reception on board the *Cambria*, Wm. Cook, master, of 547 persons thus providentially saved from death." The medal is illustrated in the Marquess of Milford Haven's "Naval Medals" (No. 578).

GEORGE PALMER, the elder brother of Thomas and Ralph Palmer, was in The East India Company's sea-service and commanded the *Boddam* Indiaman from 1796 to 1800. He then became a partner in the family business house in Kings Arms Yard near the Bank of England: and chartered several ships to the Company. Among these was the *Dunira*, so-called after the second title of Henry Dundas, the

President of the Board of Control who was created Viscount Melville and Baron Dunira in 1802. An engraving may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall, which bears the following inscription: "The Dismasted Indiaman: The *Dunira*, Captain Montgomerie Hamilton, totally dismasted in a hurricane at night (20th January, 1825) eleven hundred miles east of the Mauritius, long. 73 deg. E. 23 deg. S., which island she reached in ten days and ultimately made a quick passage home. Painted and engraved by William Daniell, R.A." when the *Dunira* made her last voyage to India and China in 1832-1833, just before the Company's China trade monopoly was extinguished, one of her midshipmen was Henry Palmer, the brother of the future Lord Chancellor, who was lost in the ship *Elizabeth* in the river St. Lawrence in the winter of 1836.

THERE is a water-colour painting of the Nawab Nazim's palace at Moorshedabad in the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall, which is ascribed to George Chinnery in the catalogue. But the date on the painting is 1835 and George Chinnery sailed from Calcutta in July 1825 on board the *Hythe* (J. P. Wilson commander) for China, where he remained until his death in 1852. It is more likely that the artist was Henry Chinnery who appears to have been one of two natural children. The Calcutta registers show that Edward Charles and Henry Colin, "sons of George Chinnery," were baptized together at St. John's Church on March 19, 1820; and, as Edward Chinnery was married on July, 29, 1836, to Maria younger daughter of the late Pilot J. Murray, the birth in each case, no doubt, preceded the baptism by several years. That Henry Chinnery was in the service of the Nawab Nazim Humayoon Jah we know from a passage in *Alexander's East India Magazine* for July 1837 (Vol. 14, p. 376) which runs as follows:

We understand that Mr. Chinnery who was sent to England by His Highness the Nawab Nazim with costly presents for His Majesty the King of England, is now in charge of very valuable presents to His Highness from the King. He has likewise been entrusted with the insignia of the Most Honourable Order of the Guelph. Mr. Chinnery was, we hear, received with great kindness by Their Majesties at Windsor, on the presentation of His Highness's presents, and the King was graciously pleased, as a mark of appreciation, to present him with a handsome gold watch and chain with the inscription: "from His Majesty King William IV to Henry Chinnery, Esq."

In an earlier passage (1835, Vol. 10, p. 563) we read that the presents were to be sent to England in the charge of "two of the English aides de camp" of the Nawab Nazim, whose names "are not yet known." We have not been able to obtain any evidence that Henry Chinnery was an artist: but there is no reason to suppose that he was not: and it was probably he who collected on the occasion of this visit: the copies of various old Masters which may (we believe) still be seen in the palace at Moorshedabad. As the Ochterlony Monument in Calcutta was not erected until 1828, it may

also be surmised that he was the painter of the "two landscapes by Chinnery" which are in the collection of Maharajah Bahadur Sir Prodyat Coomar Tagore, one of these is a view of the Esplanade and the Ochterlony Monument, and the other is of Calcutta as seen from the river.

IN his scholarly introduction to the Fort St. George Diary and consultation Book for 1703 (Government Press, Madras: Rs. 6-14-0), Mr. J. J. Cotton "Jocolet." has an interesting note on the word "jocolet" which puzzled the authors of *Hobson, Jobson*. It arises out of the following entry on November 16, 1703:

There being arrived at Pollicherry a Patriarch and severall Padres said to be Missionarys from the Pope to inspect into Ecclesiasticall Affaires in China, one of which came this day into Town sent with a compliment from the Patriarch to the Governour, with a small Present of Jocolet, Oyle and Wine, who was civilly received and afterwards tooke up his Lodgings at the Portuguez Church.

"Pollicherry" is Pondichery: and the "Patriarch" was Cardinal de Tournon. The word "jocolet" was misread by Tallboys Wheeler in his transcription and printed by him "jocolles": whereupon Yule and Burnell in their first edition comment: "we know not what this word is: perhaps toys." Mr. Cotton points out that "chocolate" is the correct interpretation: and quotes a number of authorities. President Methwold and the Council at Surat, writing to the factors at Ahmedabad on February 20, 1636, mention certain packs sent by the caravan for transmission to the Padres at Agra, which contain books, church ornaments, wine, strong waters, physic, and "one tynne pott sowed upp in gunny, which conteyneth a composition which they call chuculatte." Pepys in his diary notes on November 24, 1664: "To a coffee house to drink jocolatte, very good:" while in 1705 the Rev. Philip Hickingill says in his *Priestcraft*. "Bless the Mohometan Coffee and the Popish Spanish Chocolate." Thomas Pitt, who was Governor of Fort St. George at the time, accepted the present of "Jocolet, Oyle and Wine," but declined to let Padre Michel Ange go to Pondicherry: and remained obdurate, in spite of the "interdict" which was pronounced against him in the following year.

THERE are other curious entries which deserve attention. On June 10, mention is made of "there being four souldiers on the Howland bound for Bombay who by reason of their long passage have worne Useless "Hatts" and "Drums with Snaires." out all their cloths in so much that they are in a manner naked: 'Tis ordered that ye Paymaster cloths them and that it be charged to account Bombay." On August 23 we read: "The Company having sent out some Hatts for souldiers, for which there is little or no use here, resolved that the same be sold at outcry for the most they can gett, they being a perishable commodity." Possibly, they were common articles, for beaver hats and scarlet coats were provided in the previous year for the English and Portuguese officers of the garrison: Lastly, in a list of stores to be sent to

Fort Saint David "by the first opportunity" we discover (February 18) two "Drums with Snares." The snare (Mr. Cotton tells us) was a piece of catgut stretched across the lower head of a drum to make it resonant. The "snare drum" was the common military drum as distinguished from the bass drum.

MR. W. H. HENDERSON, a retired Bengal Civilian, whose death at Bath on February 9, has been announced, would have celebrated his hundredth birthday if he had lived until May 29. He was the oldest in point of age of the "Haileyburymen." Sir Henry Thoby Prinsep, Judge of the High Court at Fort William from 1877 to 1904, was actually the last to leave Bengal: but he came out in 1856 and died on November 11, 1914. Mr. Henderson arrived in Calcutta in 1849 and retired in 1875 as magistrate and collector of Mymensingh. He was therefore on the active list for twenty-six years and drew his pension for another fifty-three years. The record had hitherto been held by Mr. R. K. Pringle, a Bombay Civilian who began his service in 1821 and was appointed Chief Secretary in 1847, which was the year in which Mr. Henderson went to Haileybury. Retiring in February, 1851, he died at Cheltenham on January 12, 1897: having been thirty years in service and forty-six years on pension. Another good example of longevity is afforded by Mr. G. F. Sheppard, also of Bombay, who arrived in India in 1854, retired as a commissioner in 1889, and died on October 5, 1927, in his ninetieth year: completing thirty-five years in service and thirty-eight years on pension. The solitary survivor of the "Haileyburymen" at the moment of writing is believed to be Sir Philip Hutchins, of Madras, who came out in 1858 with the last batch and was Home Member of the Governor-General's Council from 1888 to 1893. Sir Steuart Bayley (Bengal C.S. 1856-1890), who died on June 3, 1925, was two years his senior: and Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac (Bengal C.S. 1858-1894), the grandson of Samuel Davis of Benares fame, who died in 1923, was an exact contemporary. Among Calcutta merchants few, we imagine, in recent years have surpassed Mr. Edward Dunbar Kilburn, who was born on May 27, 1822, and died in London on March 3, 1912, within three months of his ninetieth birthday. He was in Calcutta in 1857 and, as Mr. Stephen Wheeler tells us in his *Annals of the Oriental Club*, earned the thanks of Government for raising and commanding a regiment of volunteer cavalry.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Imperial Record Office, at 3 Government Place, West, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 16th February, 1928 at 6 p.m.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Calcutta Historical Society took the Chair.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the Honorary Secretary, read the following report:—

REPORT FOR 1927.

With the record of the year's activities, it should be noted that the Calcutta Historical Society has now entered upon the 21st year of its existence.

Although Sir Evan Cotton is not with us here in India, it is pleasing to note that his untiring, zealous and enthusiastic support is one of the mainstays of the Society.

In April 1927, on the retirement of our much respected President, the Earl of Lytton, His Excellency Lieut.-Colonel Sir Stanley Jackson, K.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal, graciously accepted the office of the President of the Society.

In the year under review it is regrettable to record the deaths of two worthy members—Sir Robert Fulton and Mr. Julian James Cotton. Sir Robert was our senior-most Vice-President. He was a foundation member of the Society and he used to take the keenest interest in its activities. The sudden death of Mr. Cotton is a serious loss to the Society. The following testimony which appeared in our Journal will be endorsed by all those who had the privilege of knowing him:—"It is not too much to say that his loss to *Bengal: Past and Present* is irreparable. Like his elder brother, Sir Evan Cotton, he was possessed of an encyclopædic knowledge of the history of British India, and, on Sir Evan's retirement from India, he carried on successfully the notes and editorial comments in *Bengal: Past and Present* enriching each issue with the prints of his learning and scholarship. His work as a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission was extremely valuable, and the papers that he contributed to the sessions of that body were some evidence of his wide learning in the later periods of the history of India. His genial and stimulating company will be sadly missed by his colleagues and friends, who were numerous, and the deepest sympathy will be felt with his widow and children."

During the year under review the total number of members of the Society was 177 against 187 of the previous year. The decrease was due

to the resignation of some ordinary members and the death of the two members just mentioned. It is pleasing to note that five new members have been introduced by Mr. Ramsbotham.

The subscriptions of some ordinary members are in arrears but it is expected that most of these will be realized.

The balance at the bank up to the 31st December 1927, as will be seen from the Financial Statement, amounts to Rs. 2,320-12-5, out of this Rs. 1,117-13-7 belongs to the Index Fund. There is a surplus of Rs. 1,202-14-10 against Rs. 916-6-9 of the previous year. The Society offers its sincere thanks to Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes for their kindness in auditing the accounts of the year under review free of charge.

Under the Editorship of Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham the standard of the *Bengal: Past and Present* continues undiminished. The Society is indebted to those who have helped its journal with valuable contributions. Among these may be mentioned the names of Sir Evan Cotton, Sir William Foster, Rev. Father W. S. J. Hosten, Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., Mr. N. K. Bhattachali, Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth and Mr. B. N. Banerji. The Editorial Committee cordially invites research scholars to help the Society with their contributions and to enable its Journal to maintain its high standard of excellence.

After years of continued effort it has been possible to complete the Indexes of Volumes IX-XVIII of *Bengal: Past and Present*. It is expected that the Index volume will be published by the middle of April next to be issued with the March number of our Journal.

The Honorary Secretary then placed on the table the following audited Financial Statement for the year 1927.

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

INDEX FUND ACCOUNT.

Income and Disbursements for the year ended 31st December, 1927.

| INCOME. | | DISBURSEMENTS. | |
|--|----------------|--|----------------|
| | Rs. A. P. | | Rs. A. P. |
| <i>Balance at 1st January, 1927—</i> | | <i>Balance at 31st December, 1927—</i> | |
| Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... | 1,000 0 0 | Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... | 1,000 0 0 |
| On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... | 59 1 7 | On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... | 117 13 7 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| Interest ... | 58 12 0 | | |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | Rs. 1,117 13 7 | | Rs. 1,117 13 7 |

CALCUTTA,
5th January, 1928.

Examined and found correct,
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

INCOME.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|--|-----------|----|----|
| <i>Balance at 1st January, 1927—</i> | | | |
| On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... | 916 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Subscriptions realised—</i> | | | |
| Arrears ... | 640 | 0 | 0 |
| 1927 ... | 1,229 | 14 | 9 |
| 1928 in advance ... | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| | 1,909 | 14 | 9 |
| <i>Cash Sale of Society's Journal</i> | 546 | 15 | 0 |
| <i>Interest ...</i> | ... | 9 | 6 |
| | Rs. 3,382 | 10 | 4 |

DISBURSEMENTS.

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|--|-----------|----|----|
| <i>Printing and Blocks</i> ... | 1,919 | 3 | 0 |
| <i>Postages ...</i> ... | 227 | 8 | 6 |
| <i>Photographic Charges</i> ... | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Bank Charges</i> ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Balance at 31st December 1927—</i> | | | |
| On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... | 1,202 | 14 | 10 |
| | Rs. 3,382 | 10 | 4 |

CALCUTTA,
5th January, 1928.

Examined and found correct,
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Raja Kshitendra Nath Deb Rai Mohashaya of Bansbaria proposed the adoption of the Report and the Financial Statement. Rai Bahadur P. N. Mullick seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Ramsbotham (Honorary Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present*) paid a high tribute to the memory of the late Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S.

Mr. Ramsbotham next thanked the President Professor Jadunath Sarkar, the Honorary Secretary Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali and the Honorary Manager Mr. N. Ganguly for the time and energy willingly devoted by them to the furtherance of the objects of the Society.

Mr. Ramsbotham then proposed that arrangements might be made to compile the index to volumes XIX to XXVIII and that Rs. 500 be sanctioned for the purpose. This was seconded by Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth and carried unanimously.

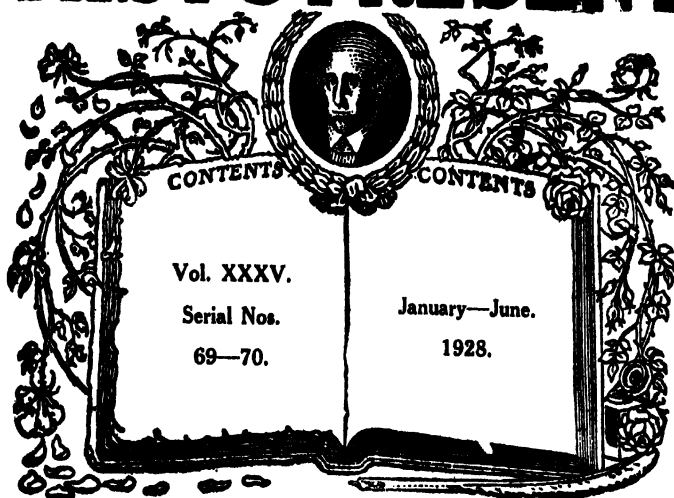
On the proposal of Mr. Ramsbotham Babu Nalini Kanta Bhattashali, M.A., Curator, Dacca Museum, and Babu Brajendra Nath Banerjee were elected honorary members of the Society.

Rai Pramatha Nath Mullick Bahadur the Honorary Treasurer having expressed a desire to be relieved of his duties on the ground of ill-health, Mr. A. Cassells, M.A., I.C.S., was unanimously elected Honorary Treasurer of the Society.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting was dissolved at 7-30 p.m.



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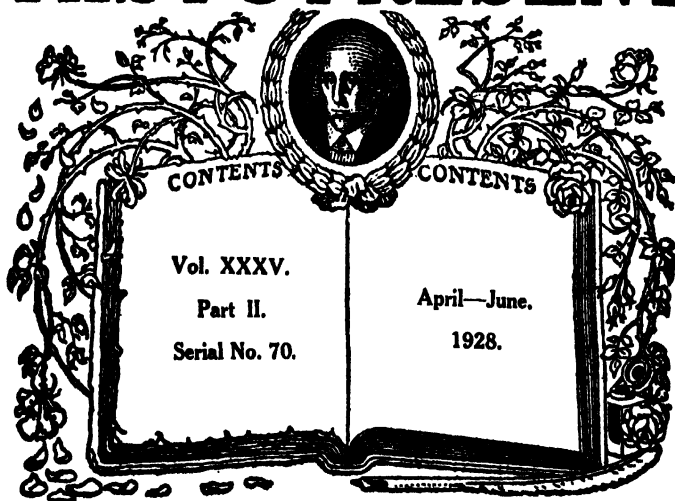
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* These papers were read at the Tenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Rangoon, in December, 1927.

Letters from Bengal: 1788 to 1795.

UNPUBLISHED PAPERS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
OZIAS HUMPHRY, R.A.

EIGHT bound volumes of the correspondence of Ozias Humphry, R.A., are preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy. They were presented by his natural son, William Upcott, whose house in Upper Street, Islington (where he died in 1845) was known as Autograph Cottage. Seven of the volumes contain letters received between the years 1753 and 1810: the eighth is monopolized by Humphry's "claim against the Nabob of Oude," which was never satisfied (1). Dr. G. C. Williamson in his book on Humphry has summarized some of the letters: but the volumes do not appear to have been yet subjected to detailed scrutiny. By the courtesy of Mr. Wright, the Librarian, I have been enabled to transcribe from the fourth volume seven letters written to Humphry by friends in Bengal between the years 1788 to 1795. They throw a flood of light upon many matters which have hitherto remained obscure. Humphry, as we know, arrived at Calcutta in the *Francis* Indiaman in August 1786, and sailed from Kedgerree for Europe in the *Earl of Oxford* on March 14, 1787. He left behind him a pending suit in the Supreme Court against Sir John Macpherson for the recovery of fees for pictures painted at Lucknow: and this was decided against him in March 1789 (2).

INTRODUCTORY.

The letters are from five correspondents: Thomas Daniell, Gavin Hamilton, Claude Martin, Captain Jonathan Wood, and William Baillie.

Much has already been written in *Bengal: Past and Present* on the subject of the Indian travels of Thomas Daniell and his nephew William: and it need not be repeated. Many new facts are however disclosed in these letters. When Thomas Daniell wrote to Humphry from Patna on November 7, 1788, he was on his way "up the country," after the completion of the Twelve Views of Calcutta. From Captain Jonathan Wood's letter of August 1, 1789, from "Futty Ghur," we obtain for the first time the names of those in whose company they visited Agra, Delhi and Muttra. In the letter which William Daniell wrote to his mother from "Baghulpoor" on July 30, 1790 (3) and which was copied into his own journal by Joseph Farington, we read that on their arrival at Chunar the Daniells heard of the projected tour and "immediately proceeded from this place in palankeens and got to Futty Ghur in a day and a night," when "the Coll. commanding,

(1) See the article on "An Artist and His Fees" in *Bengal: Past and Present*: Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1-19.

(2) *Calcutta Gazette*, March 12, 1789.

(3) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 13-17.

kindly invited us to be of the party." We ascertain also from Wood that General Carnac, in spite of his seventy years, made the excursion with them. From Baillie's letter of November 23, 1793, we learn that the uncle and nephew, who had arrived at Madras in November 1792, after their tour in South India, were planning "to cross over to the Malabar coast on to Bombay and from that home by way of Egypt and Bussora." They had actually gone to Muscat and we know from the Bombay Public Proceedings that they hurried back to Bombay in July 1793 with the news of the outbreak of war with France which had come overland. From Bombay they proceeded to England: and Humphry in a letter written to Baillie in October 1794, reports their arrival.

Gavin Hamilton was a merchant in Calcutta, who came out in the *Glatton* in 1778 and entered into business with Alexander Aberdein under the style of Hamilton and Aberdein. He gave evidence for Humphry in his action against Sir John Macpherson: and according to his own account was an amateur artist whose drawings earned the praise of his friend. His criticisms of the altarpiece of the Last Supper which Zoffany painted for St. John's Church, exhibit a faculty of shrewd observation, as an examination of the picture will show (4). We learn from him that Zoffany sailed for Europe in "a French ship carrying Tuscan colours": and obtain glimpses of a number of other artists who were in Bengal at the time.

Claude Martin stands in need of no introduction. The letter of March 11, 1789, which is now reproduced in full for the first time, is full of character. He assures Humphry that he is anxious to end his days in Europe and that England is the country of his choice. But if he really had any such intention, he did not act upon it. He died at Lucknow on September 13, 1800, after fourteen years' residence, and left a fortune of about forty lakhs for educational and charitable purposes. The Martinieri schools at Calcutta, Lucknow and Lyons are the outward and visible signs of his munificence.

The fact that Martin in his letter alludes to the cock-fighting propensities of Colonel Moriaunt and mentions six of the residents at Lucknow—Gregory, Johnstone, Taylor, Orr, Wombwell and Polier—who are introduced in Zoffany's famous picture of "The Cock Match" (5) suggests that Ozias Humphry who was certainly at Lucknow with Zoffany in 1786 when the picture was painted, may be the "Mr. Humphrey" of the key to Earlom's engraving. There is no evidence that the other candidate, Lieut. Isaac Humphreys, was in Lucknow at the time. On the contrary, it is recorded in Major Hodson's work (Vol. II, p. 501) that he was appointed on May 23, 1786, to be Secretary to the newly constituted Military Board, which held its first consultation (presumably at the Presidency) two days later. Captain Jonathan Wood was gazetted as an ensign in the Bengal Infantry on March 30, 1773, and was promoted to the rank of Captain on February 23, 1784.

(4) A reproduction of the altarpiece was given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 231.

(5) Capt. Wood in his letter of August 1, 1785, gives almost the same list of Humphry's "friends at Lucknow:" among them are Martine, Mordaunt, Taylor, Johnstone, and Orr.

He became a major on July 1, 1798 and on May 29, 1800 was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the 2nd battalion of the 2nd Bengal Infantry, of which he was still in command when he died at Calcutta on January 23, 1803 "on his way home for the benefit of his health" (6). In July 1787 he was second in command of the 37th battalion of Sepoys.

William Baillie, at the time of his correspondence with Humphry, was "superintendent, master and secretary" of the Calcutta Free School. He had begun his career in India as a cadet in the Bengal Infantry in 1777, and transferred to the Engineers in the following year. After serving for ten years, he resigned in 1788: and it would appear that he received the rank of major for he is so described on his tomb in the South Park Street cemetery. But he evidently discarded his military title, for the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 13, 1799, announces his death at the age of fifty-six in the following terms: "On Friday morning last Mr. William Baillie, formerly an officer of Engineers on this Establishment, a very worthy and deserving man." After his resignation he went to Europe and on his return was appointed superintendent of the Free School (see his letter of November 23, 1793). He has much to tell Humphry, not only about the doings of other artists, but also about his efforts—the twelve views of Calcutta which were published in 1794-1795, the Plan of Calcutta, and the Views of Gour. His widow survived until 1840.

A word may be added regarding some of the lesser known individuals mentioned by Hamilton and Baillie.

According to Hamilton, Francesco Renaldi was an Academy student and acquainted with many Academicians. But he is unnoticed in Bryan's and Benezet's Dictionaries of Painters: and I have discovered no references to him in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the period. The following details are borrowed from Algonon Graves' Collection of Royal Academy Catalogues. In 1777 he was "at Mr. Negri's, Queen Street, Berkeley Square" and exhibited the "portrait of a gentleman in crayons." A gap ensues until 1784, when he was living at 2, Portugal Street, Lincolns Inn Fields and exhibited portraits of a nun and a gentleman. Four more portraits followed in 1785: and he is again unrepresented until 1791 when he sends from Calcutta the "Portrait of a Mogul Lady." He had returned to London by 1797 for he was living at 7, Covent Garden and sent from that address three portraits—"An Industany lady," "An Artist," and another "Mogul Lady." The last entry is in 1798, when he was living in "Cavendish Square" and exhibited "Portraits of his own Family and Mr. Jones." From Hamilton we ascertain that while he was in Calcutta he painted a portrait of Padre Parthenio, the priest of the Greek church, who is said to be the original of the Saviour in Zoffany's altarpiece. It was sent home to Hastings in 1789 in the charge of George Nesbitt Thompson: with a request to Humphry to arrange for its exhibition at the Academy. It must have arrived too late, for as we have seen, Rinaldi's name is absent from the catalogues from 1785 to 1791. I have not been able to trace this interesting picture any further.

(8) *Gentleman's Magazine* 1803. I am indebted to Major Hodson for these details.

More is known of John Alefounder, who formed the subject of an article in a very recent issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (7). His death is laconically announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of December 25, 1794: "suddenly, Saturday evening last, Mr. John Alefounder." The disclosure is made in Baillie's letter to Humphry of October 5, 1795, that he committed suicide with a pen knife. There are repeated allusions to his intention to return to England: and he seems to have made all arrangements to that end. On November 7, 1793, we find him advertising in the *Calcutta Gazette* from his house in "Boitah Counah" that "he intends returning to Europe this season" and is therefore "induced to make an offer to Ladies and Gentlemen residing in India to paint Miniatures for Bracelets, Locketts and Rings, and handsomely see them in Gold for the value of 100 sa. Rs. each." Prices are also quoted for larger sizes. He asks sa. Rs. 200 for "a picture not exceeding 3 inches and three-eighths in length with a square black frame and an elegant gold oval rim to receive the picture." Finally, "Mr. A. will think himself particularly happy, should he be so fortunate as to be encouraged by the ladies and gentlemen residing in India to paint their children's or friend's pictures after being settled in England. Letters addressed to him at No. 1, Alfred Place, Black Friars Road, will be punctually attended to."

Charles Smith came out to India in the *Belmont* Indiaman in 1783, and was at Lucknow with Humphry in 1786. Reasons have been given in a recent number of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIV, pp. 18-19) for attributing to him the portrait of Nawab Asat-ud-daula which is at the Victoria Memorial Hall. Martin informs Humphry in his letter of March 11, 1789, that Smith was able to secure, through the good offices of James Grant, the "chief" at Benares, "payment of the money due to him from the Nawab: and Baillie in the postscript to his letter (November 7, 1795) asserts that he "carried home 20,000." He appears then to have been at Edinburgh, but he must have returned to India for the name of "C. Smith, portrait painter, Lucknow" appears in the *India Register* from 1806 to 1811. In any case he died at Leith in Scotland in 1824 at the age of 75.

John Thomas Seton painted portraits at Calcutta in 1781 of Colonel Allen Macpherson and his wife and brother (Colonel John Macpherson) which are still preserved at the family house at Blairgowrie in Perthshire. The portrait of Sir Eyre Coote at the India Office has been ascertained in recent years to his work: and he seems also to have painted a portrait of "Diana, wife of Sir John D'Oyly with children and Indian servant" (8). It appears also from an engraving of a portrait of Warren Hastings by John Jones, which was published in 1785, that the original (which has disappeared) is by Seton (9). Humphry writing from Calcutta on November 26, 1785, to his brother, expresses annoyance that Seton should have returned to England "after an cosy time in Bengal with £12,000 in his pocket."

(7) Vol. XXXIV, pp. 115-119.

(8) See the article by Sir William Foster in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 2-3.

(9) The engraving is reproduced: *ibid*, p. 1.

Arthur William Devis went out in the first instance to China in the *Antelope* in 1782: and after reaching Maccao in safety was wrecked on one of the Pelaw Islands in August 1783. Devis made some sketches of the islands, to which allusion is made by Hamilton in a very short letter of November 10, 1790: "Devis, the only Painter [here] is just now finishing your small landscapes—views in the Pelaw Islands—done from his own drawings: they are well executed and are going home to be engraved." He seems to have arrived in India in 1785. There are many references in the letters to his picture of "Lord Cornwallis receiving the Hostage Princes," and of his visit to Madras in order to paint certain figures from life. Both the picture and the visit attracted considerable attention. The *Madras Courier* of October 11, 1793, has the following note:

The most popular production is the interesting picture by Mr. Devis of the Seringapatam Transaction, the scene becomes daily of more bustle; observations on it are yet premature, we shall for the present postpone them with remarking one circumstance that will distinguish this performance from any former one of a similar description (namely) that all the known Portraits will be painted from life.

A comment is added upon other Pictures which are mentioned by Baillie in his letters of October 5, 1795—a "series of thirty paintings representing the manufactures of the country."

Mr. Devis's Pictures of Hindoo Manufactories possess real Merit, they are highly painted, the countenances of the Girls are truly innocent and beautiful.

Baillie singles out "the Pottery" for praise as "a charming little picture" and indicates that only a few had been finished when Devis left the country. As a matter of fact, the series was never completed. He sailed in the *Rose* and landed at Deal on July 23, 1795. The National Portrait Gallery has a portrait painted by him in Calcutta in 1791, of John Herbert, Governor of Prince of Wales's Island: and his picture of "The Death of Nelson," which was engraved by W. Bromley, is at Greenwich Hospital. He died in 1824. With Turner he was an unsuccessful candidate in 1798 for election as an Associate of the Royal Academy.

Henry Hudson arrived in India in 1793 on board the *Kroon Princessin Maria*. Chaloner Smith in his *British Mezzotint Portraits* (1884) mentions a number of engravings executed by him in London before that date: including a mezzotint of Mathew Brown's portrait of Lord Macartney of which there is an impression at the Victoria Memorial Hall and which was published in 1790. But of the engravings published by him in Calcutta, he has singularly little to say: and it must be said that they are extremely scarce. Baillie alludes to three. Of these the engraving of the portrait of Clive "which hangs in the Council-room" has not been traced by the present writer. Copies of the engravings of the portraits of Hastings and Cornwallis by Devis may be seen at the India Office: but both are rarely met with. Chaloner

Smith goes so far as to say that the print of Hastings "appears not to have been published." He records a fourth mezzotint—published in Calcutta 1793—of Lieut.-Col. Francis Skelly of the 74th Regiment, Adjutant-General in India, whose arrival from Madras in the *Hillsborough* is reported in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 7, 1793, and whose death followed almost immediately afterwards on November 30.

The constant complaints made by Baillie and Hamilton that "the taste for the Arts is much diminished" seem a trifle overdone. It is clear that Claude Martin, for instance, must have had a fine gallery of paintings, for Hudson applied on January 26, 1795, (*Beng. Pub. Progs.*) for permission to visit Lucknow, as Colonel Martin "grants me the loan of any picture in his collection for the purpose of engraving, several of which will be very profitable to me and fulfil every object I proposed to myself in coming to this country." The consent of the Nawab Vizier having been obtained, Hudson received permission on March 2, "under the usual engagement that his absence from the Presidency shall not exceed a specified period—two years." As we shall see later, he died at Chinsurah on July 26, 1795, under distressing conditions which are now revealed for the first time: and the visit was never paid. One of Martin's pictures which Hudson wished to engrave was a portrait of Sir Eyre Coote by Nathaniel Dance, R.A., "reckoned a remarkable likeness" (10). Moreover, when Martin's effects were advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* during the year 1801, they are stated to include "a complete set of Daniel's views in India about 150 paintings in oils on different subjects, and forty-seven paintings and sketches by Zoffany."

Another patron of the arts was Robert Percival Pott, the "Bob Pott" of Hickey's Memoirs. He died at Lucknow on June 22, 1795: and the sale of his effects by Messrs. Tulloh Pierce and Co. is announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 26, 1795. Among them are "paintings and drawings by Daniel, Devis, Hodges and Farington, prints by Hodges, a set of Daniel's views of Calcutta" and "four most beautifully bound large sized drawing books with coloured drawing paper, entitled 'Sketches from Nature in Asia'." By his will which was proved at Calcutta on April 14, 1756, he left to various relatives three portraits of Emii Warren, the "Thais" of Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture, whom he had brought out to Bengal as his mistress: one by Pance, another by Romney, and a third, painted on ivory, by Sheritt.

Hickey himself, writing of his new mansion in 1790 (*Vol. III*, pp. 357-358) says that the principal apartments were so profusely decorated "with beautiful pictures and prints" that the house was cherished "Hickey's picture and print warehouse."

It was evidently the fashion to buy pictures and engravings. Baillie in one of his letters to Humphry discloses the fact that Peter Spake, who was a Member of the Supreme Council from 1787 to 1801, and "spent forty years at the Presidency," owned a large collection of paintings by Daniell.

(10) See the announcement in the *Madras Courier* of January 7, 1795, and the article on Robert Home in *Bengal: Past and Present* (*Vol. XXXV*, p. 5).

Devis received over Rs. 20,000 for his portrait of Lord Cornwallis: and Baillie confesses that he made Rs. 8,000 out of his views of Calcutta.

EVAN COTTON.

THE LETTERS.

I. *From Thomas Daniell [November 7, 1788].*

My dear Friend:—Your kind letter on the Airly Castle as well as the former one by the Madrass ship I have had the good fortune to receive. Accept my best thanks for them. Believe me, I most sincerely rejoice to find you are settled in old England so much to your satisfaction and in good health: excuse my confessing that I cannot help envying you so good an account as you give me of the present state of the Arts at home is highly pleasurable to me.

The Lord be praised, at length I have completed my 12 views of Calcutta. The fatigue I have experienced in this undertaking has almost worn me out. [I] am advised to make a trip up the country with flattering assurances that my health would be improved by it. I am now very near Patna in a good strong roomy Pinnace where I can paint or draw quite comfortably. I think I shall not repent this excursion [and] will do my best to give you some account of it in my next (11).

By Mr. Begby of the William Pitt Indiaman I send you the Calcutta views which you promised to do me the honour of accepting. It will appear a very poor performance in your land, I fear. You must look upon it as a *Bengalee* work. You know, I was obliged to stand Painter, Engraver, Copper Smith, Printer, and printers Devil myself. [It] was a *devilish* undertaking but I was determined to get through it at all events.

Mr. Begby has also charge of your Picture of the Lady Waldegraves (12) and of the Prints you left with me. I never should have got a fiftieth part of the value of either of them at Calcutta. Pictures they have in abundance of one sort or other and as to Prints the commonest Bazar is full of them. Hodges' Indian views are selling off at the outcry of cartloads and altho' framed and glazed are bought for less money than the glass alone could be purchased in the bazar. *Times are changed.*

(11) There is no other letter from Daniell in the Volume.

(12) Can this picture of "the Lady Waldegraves" be the miniature representing the ladies Maria and Horatia Waldegrave (two of the Sisters in Sir Joshua Reynolds' famous picture) with a fortune teller which was deposited by Humphry as his diploma picture on his election as an Academician in 1791? It disappeared and was missing for many years: in 1921 it was discovered in a sale-room by Dr. G. C. Williamson and at his suggestion purchased by Sir William Pender, who restored it to its place in the gallery. In 1788 Humphry exhibited at the Academy a painting of a similar type which he entitled "A Brahmin in India telling the fortune of some English Ladies."

You ask me what became of your furniture. Of course you forget that you desired my Nephew to deliver to Mr. Jennings (13) chairs, tables, etc. The cot and some other articles Mr. Johnson (14) took possession of my Nephew proposes himself the pleasure of writing to you and will give you a particular account of the whole. The Palanquins, your colours and canvases etc. were sent to my house. None of the last mentioned articles have yet been wanted by me: they shall nevertheless be fairly accounted for one of these days.

Mr. Zoffany is still up the country but I do not know that he is doing any business in [the] Painting way. Mr. Smith, whom you mentioned, is arrived in England by this time, I conclude. I have not the pleasure of being acquainted with him. Mrs. Hill (15) is still making *handsome faces* in the House you lived in last in Calcutta. Devis has been running about the country for some time but to no very profitable purpose, I fear. Alefounder (*entre nous*) does not get forward or even well here. His unfortunate outset makes against him very much. Hickey (16), I understand, is publishing by subscription the Lives of the earliest Grecian Painters in Italian and English. His advertisement has appeared since my departure from Calcutta so that I am not correct respecting his plans, probably. Adieu, my good friend. O how happy shall I be to take you by the hand in *poor old England* and talk over our main campaigns.

I am with sincerity yours,

THOS. DANIELL.

Patna, 7th Nov. 1788.

(13) Ross Jennings—"factor to Lord Denbigh in Bengal": a commissioner of police in Calcutta in 1788: later on an indigo manufacturer at Jessore and Chingurah: came out on the *Dublin* Indiaman in 1785.

(14) William Johnson who was a nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds, acted as attorney for Humphry in the action against Sir John Macpherson. In a letter from Calcutta of January 11, 1794, he writes: "I have the pictures which you left with me and the Nabob's Punkah." Have we in the "Nabob's Punkah," an allusion to the two finely-painted punkah-boards which may still be seen in the billiard-room at 7, Hastings Street? We know from the evidence given by George Young, jeweller, at the trial of the action that Humphry lived with Mr. Stables, the Member of Council, in "Mrs. Hastings' house" which is the house in question. The painting of hunting-scenes with elephants was not, however, in Humphry's line: and we have still to look elsewhere for the artist, who may have been Zoffany.

(15) A note on Mrs. Diana Hill, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 6. Humphry, writing from Calcutta on June 1, 1786, described as "a most unlucky importation." She was married, as Gavin Hamilton relates in the next letter, to Capt. Thomas Harriott at St. John's Church on November 15, 1788. He retired with the rank of major in 1806, and died at West Hall, Mortlake, Surrey, on April 19, 1817, at the age of 64. His wife survived him for many years and died at Twickenham on February 10, 1844.

(16) A detailed account of the career of Thomas Hickey was given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 142-157. He died at Madras on May 20, 1824, at the age of 83. The first volume of his "History of Painting and Sculpture from the Earliest Ages" was published in Italian and English at Calcutta in 1788, "from the Press of Stuart and Cooper." There is a copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. No other volumes were published.

P.S.—My friend Hague (17) is as worthy a little fellow as lives. I am happy to hear you say you like him. If you can be of any service to him you will *particularly oblige me*. He paints ceilings, friezes, chimney pieces, etc. in the grotesque way with a good deal of taste: he also does gilding and plain work.

II. *From Gavin Hamilton.*

Calcutta, Feby. 15, 1789.

My dear Sir—I have duely received your favors of the 7th April and 7th July 1788, and have to return you most hearty thanks for the news and anecdotes of painting you have been so much at pains to collect, but especially for the aquatinta receipt. I have communicated your letters to Mr. Baillie who will undoubtedly write you himself. He means to try the aquatinta immediately as shall I also, when at leisure.

You are very good in the complimentary way you speak about my drawings. They do not merit the encomiums you pay, and are not worth your acceptance. I sent all I had home on the Busbridge and have been so lazy or otherwise occupied since that my collection is very small indeed. If I can get any of the officers of this ship (18) to take charge of them, I may send them to you.

Mr. Longcroft, a young artist who lived with Mr. Zoffany (19) has sent home on the Phoenix ten high finished drawings, views of Agra, Delhi, etc., which are very clever. They are to be engraved: and Zoffani (if he lives to get home) is to superintend the business. He sailed lately on a French ship carrying Tuscan colours, called the *Grande Duchesse*, Capt. Boulouvard, for Cadiz and Leghorn. From this last place he means to travel overland to England. By this way he runs a risque from the Algerines (20), which all his friends beg'd him to avoid, in vain, and they endeavoured to prevail with him to go home in an English ship, with as bold success. He alledged

(17) Edmund Hague of Queen Anne Street East, stood surety with Robert Smirke of Upper Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place, for Daniell on February 23, 1785, when he obtained permission to "proceed to Bengal to follow his profession of an engraver." In 1790 "Ex Hague architect of 42, Queen Anne Street East" exhibited at the Academy "The painted ceiling in the principal drawing room, Lulworth Castle. The residence of Edward Weld, Esq."

(18) The word "Northumberland" is written on the envelope.

(19) According to Thomas Twining (*Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 294), Thomas Longcroft came out to India with Zoffany in 1784 and after accompanying him to Lucknow, set up in business as an indigo-planter at Jellowlee near Aligarh, where Twining met him in December 1794. There are four Indian ink drawings of his at the India Office—two of the Nabob's Palace at Lucknow (1790) one of Modwar ("about 1790") and one of the Jummah Masjid at Delhi (1786)—and also "six ink and pencil drawings of trees and plants, made in Behar about the year 1790": all of which were presented by Miss Louisa Twining in 1903.

(20) Although Zoffany avoided the "risque from the Algerines," his voyage was marked by a terrible tragedy. The ship was wrecked, and he and other passenger escaped in one of the boats. A supply of food had been forgotten and "eventually one sailor who was in a very weak state died and his companions ate his flesh roasted in some primitive manner." It is said that Zoffany who had hitherto been "a jovial man of fashion," never recovered from the horror of this experience. (Dr. G. C. Williamson, *Life of Zoffany*).

the difference of the expence in Passage money and the difficulty he would meet with in landing his Pictures in England from an Indiaman (21). Strange reasons!—but you know Zoffany, like Tristram Shandy, discovered always an unaccountable obliquity in the manner of setting up his Top. His constitution is very much impaired indeed. I sincerely hope this native air will restore him.

Painting is going fast to decay here from want of encouragement. Devis and Renaldi are the only Artists now in Calcutta. Poor Farrington (22) died lately at Muxedabad. Mr. Hickey is going to Madras, and Daniel (who has at last finished his views of Calcutta) is going up the country a-Landscape-painting. Mrs. Hill has laid down the miniature brush. She is married to Lieut. Harriot, one of the Majors of Brigade to the Army, whom you may perhaps remember, a man six feet two inches high and broad in proportion.

Zoffany's Altarpiece which he presented to the Church is a fine Painting. It is the Last Supper, the figures bigger than life. He began and finished it in less than 6 weeks. Critics would nevertheless find something to say upon it. In the background is seen the full moon stealing thro' the clouds, yet the figures at table (under a sort of Veranda) are enlightened with a good broad daylight. Some other little things convey to us Indians an idea of Modern manners and want of grandeur, tho' I doubt not they would have a different effect on European Connoisseurs: such as—Peter's sword hung upon a nail in the wall is a common Peon's *Tulwaar*: the water ever standing near the Table is copied from a *Pigdanny* (23): and there is a *Beesty* bag full of water lying near it.

Lord Cornwallis has never yet sat for his picture and I suppose will not. He has none of the Cacoethes about him and is occupied with matters of more moment.

I am extremely glad you are likely to settle amicably with St. Jo: Macpherson, tho' I find upon enquiry that his Attorneys here have not received any hints of it from himself.

It will always give me particular pleasure to hear from you, so pray write me now and then and mention any improvements that may occur in the Arts of Painting Engraving and Etching.

My dear Sir.

Yours very sincerely,
G. HAMILTON.

(21) For an illustration of these difficulties, see Hickey, Vol. IV, p. 471.

(22) George Farrington was a brother of Joseph Farrington, R.A., the diarist. He seems to have come out in 1783. The manner of his death at Moorshedabad in 1788 is thus related in Edward's *Anecdotes of Painters*: "while engaged on a painting representing the Durbar of the Nabob of Moorshedabad he imprudently exposed himself to the night air to make studies of the natives in some ceremonial rites and becoming suddenly ill died in a few days." This account was revised by Joseph Farrington (see entry of January 28, 1805 in his diary).

(23) Hindustani *pikdan*: a spittoon.

P.S. Mr. Renaldi requests to be particularly remembered to you. He has lately finished and sent home to Mr. Hastings a Portrait of Padre Parthenio (24) a very striking likeness and an excellent Picture which I am sure you will be much gratified with a sight of. He has signified a wish to Mr. Thompson (who has charge of it) that it might have a place in the Exhibition where it must certainly be admired as much from its being a good Painting as from its Novelty. He desires me to beg you will mention this his wish to Mr. Hastings should you meet with him and I must ask leave to second him in it—your knowledge of the forms in these cases will much facilitate the business. Mr. Renaldi is an old student of the Academy and is known to most of the Academicians.

I forgot to mention Alefounder. He is still in Calcutta painting Miniatures, but there is really little encouragement in any branch.

Mr. Renaldi has lately finished two small historical paintings for Mr. Wilton (25) on the subject of Paris and Helen—and three Goddesses. They are very clever Paintings indeed.

III. *From Claude Martin.*

On my way to Lucknow,

Bennares the 11th March 1789.

My dear Sir—I am very sensible to the marks of attention you are so kind as to pay me by your favour of the 18th July /88 as indeed I do not deserve it having done you no particular service or particular attention but what I do to every Gentleman to whom I am so happy as to be acquainted with: true it is a friend construe[s] every mark of civilities according [to] the regard to bear him. I also may say that when you mentioned your circumstances at Lucknow I reely wished it had been in my power to assist you, but you saw my situation and influence: having none nor none is to be had but by those in office in a country and among men, that it is only those they fear and that they mind, and I reely wishes [sic] to hear that the unhappy affair which gave you so much uneasiness is settled to your satisfaction. Colonel Mordaunt is now at the Vizier's Court, hunting, fighting Cocks, and Doing all he can [so] as to please the Nabob in expectation of being paid the large sum due to him by that Prince (26), but I fear much of his success as the Vizier is not much willing to pay his Debt particularly to Europeans; for what I know of his character I think it such that if one could

(24) Padre Parthenio was the Greek priest in Calcutta and the supposed original of the Saviour in Zoffany's altarpiece. A letter from him in Italian to Humphry, dated February 15, 1789, is the next in the volume. The picture has not been traced by me. It was not exhibited at the Academy.

(25) John Wilson was a son of Joseph Wilson, R.A., the fashionable Sculptor, and a brother of Lady Chambers. He was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1789.

(26) Colonel John Mordaunt, whose "Cock Match" with Nawab Asaf-ud-daula has been immortalized by Zoffany, was a natural son of the Earl of Peterborough: the *Calcutta Gazette* of Noevmber 11, 1790, announces his death "lately, on board his Budgerow, near Chunar."

Several of the persons introduced in the picture are mentioned later on by Martin—Wombwell, Poller, Gregory, Johnstone, Taylor, and Orr.

read in his heart he would perceive it loaded with many dark sinister intentions, and as you know those who compose his court you then ought to know what man he is. A man that Delight in Elephant and Cocks Fighting would Delight in something worse if he fear'd nothing.

Mr. Smith was paid by the influence of Mr. Grant (27) who when the Minister passed at Bennares he requested of him as a particular favour for all the attention he had paid him to give him a tankaw for the sum due to Mr. Smith. Which was a lucky moment! he did it and that is the mean[s] that I understand Mr. Smith has been paid. A lucky moment indeed! and a Good friend he did found in Mr. Grant!

Our good and worthy friend Mr. Zoffani (which I hope you have seen by this time as he went from here in January and took his passage in an Italian ship the *Grande Duchesse*) this Good man is not yet paid tho' he was called by the Vizier and abandoned his own business at Calcutta in the hope of doing better, and to this day he has not received a farthing from Vizier, Minister, or any of the blacks.

I am very happy to find that by your letter you are so well with all the Great Gentlemen in England; the high favour you are [in] with them will be the mean[s] of settling or having your Debt paid by the Vizier, and as I see no other mode I advise you to have it recommended to the Governor for him to recommend it to the Vizier for Payment as no other will do (28). Even the Resident would not Dare to do it as he is very Strictly ordered not to Interfere against anybody with the Vizier or his minister: as men in office they are the same as when you was here, only they Dare not Interfere without order and I fear such a one will not be Given Easily without a special recommendation from Europe. I am very much afraid that Colonel Mordaunt will be Long before he is paid. Mr. Gregory is still here loosing his time which is a pity for a man of his ability: we have Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Taylor, Dr. Blain, Mr. Orr, Mr. Robinson and I think Everyones but friend Wombwell and Colonel Polier (29) which went home last January.

(27) James Grant "Chief" at Benares: came out with William Hickey on the *Plassey* in 1769.

(28) Humphry seems to have acted upon this advice. Included in the volume is a letter, dated Berkeley Square, March 21, 1793, from Lord Bugham (1759-1840; the son of Lord Chancellor Pratt and subsequently first Marquess Camden) in which Humphry is informed that Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, cannot write with any probability of effect or indeed with propriety on his part to Sir John Shore upon the subject of your claim." The new Governor-General "goes out with the same instructions and the same intentions as Lord Cornwallis, and the difficulty of interference is increased by an article in the last treaty with the Nabob in which the Company disclaim all interference with his private debts." Humphry is left to draw what comfort he can from the fact that the noble lord describes himself "with great truth" as his "most obedient and humble servant."

(29) Zoffany painted a portrait group of Martin, Wombwell, Polier and himself, which is now in the Bridgman collection. Colonel Anthony Polier, a Frenchman by descent and a Swiss by birth, was Chief Engineer at Calcutta in 1762 but resigned and entered the Oudh service in 1776. He was murdered by robbers in 1795 on his way to Avignon. John Wombwell was the Company's Accountant at Lucknow, and came out with George Frederick Grand on the *Greenwich* in 1776. He was a cousin of Sir George Wombwell, Chairman of the Court of Directors in 1777 and 1778.

From them I expect a Long Relation of their Voyages, Situation, their states of health, accommodation and approval of their continuation in Europe and as I mean and intend quitting this Country in a couple of years, theirs [sic] relations will put the last stroake to my decision of quitting this Country as my only fear is that after having remained so long in this country and have [having] accordingly a constitution for such a climat that the Europe climats may not agree with me. My friend Polier has been as long in the country and must be better Judges [sic]. The Relations I had from many of my friend[s] who went home are not at all agreeable as they most advise me to remain where I am but a sound Reasoning call[s] me to Europe. When a man in India reflect[s] that he can't enjoy Peace in his mind, Liberty of Station, which in this country one has not certain for a moment, security to one's Property, which is here at the mercy of many causes, a Liberty or any sort of Independency, a thing not known in this country, and the worst of all is of Losings Friends constantly as well by the fatal Strokes of Death or going home, and tho' the Peoples (Europeans) in this Country have been and are extremely Liberal and Generous still I cannot say that there is Great deal of Sincerity existing among one another and much worse among the amiable fair.

As for my own Part I flatter myself that I have meet that friend and tho' the greatest Number are gone to Europe still I think I have some good ones yet in India. I don't mean among the Blacks people except my amiable Girl (30) which I do not rank among the Blacks, she being whiter than me and having had as good an education as an European, but among Mostly all the Rest Sincerity friendship Gratitude are words not known in their Dictionary. You will say, how could [I] live among such [a] Set of Rogues.' In reply, I have lived very little among them really: their company I always avoided. I have been and Endeavour to be as Polite to those that deserve that compliment as much as possible, [as] to other[s] I look on them as they are. Luckily I never had occasion of them nor never expected any thing from them. By that means I may say that I have been respected, and that is all I wanted from the Natives, tho' it is [the] fashion to call us India Gentlemen the Murderers of Thousands, the Plunderers of these sweet innocent

Robert Gregory was Assistant to the Resident, and probably a son of Robert Gregory who was Chairman of the Court of Directors in 1782. The story goes that his father when walking down the Strand, caught sight of Earlom's engraving of "The Cock Match" and recognized the figure of his son holding a white cock under his arm: whereupon he cut him out of his will.

Sackville Marcus Taylor and George Johnstone were likewise assistants to the Resident. Taylor died in Calcutta on September 14, 1798, at the age of 42 Johnstone resigned the Service in 1796 and became a member of Parliament: his death in London is announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 18, 1814.

James Orr came out in the *Egremont* in 1774 and owned a number of cotton cloth factories in Oudh. Robinson was a trader and merchant, probably the George Robinson who came out in 1782 and was at Cawnpore in 1797.

(30) In one of Martin's letters which is quoted by Mr. Hill, in his biography, there is a reference to "my most amiable Girl, named by her parents Boulone, surnamed Lisa by one Carrière, a Frenchman, from whom I acquired her."

Creatures! I wish to see these great Orators at the mercy of these innocent Creatures without the support of any forces, then I have no doubt that they would speake diferently.

Europe is certainly the best Country where to enjoy Life and England most particularly for me who have no other friend or acquaintance but in England and who may say [he] is an Englishman having spent more than the Life of a man among them. In Europe a man of a Modest Independency may have a thousand Diversions, if he chuse to pursue arts, sciences, phisick of philosophy, or visit Play[s] Concert[s] or Show[s], in short, there is a variety of Diversions for any man of Modest Independency besides being sure to enjoy his friends [society] and as I said no Country in my opinion is Equal to Europe, and I must go and quit this Country, and I am in hope it will be in a couple of years' time that I hope I will have collected what is due to me.

I am much obliged to you for the good news you give me of my Good and worthy friend Mr. Stables and family. Let me request of you when you see them to Put me often in their Memory as also to all My other India friends who may speak [to] you of me. I have been very happy to hear of the success of my friend Hodges.

I thank you for the Description of *Acqua tinta*. I would have sent it to Mr. Daniel but I find he possess it from Long. That Gentleman is gone Up the Country, Agra, Dhely, etc. and soon you will see many of his performances. Every body have approved of his *Calcutta View[s]*. The subscription was a Gold Mohr. Cheap enough in such a country ().

I can not give you any news of Mr. Longcroft: he is too Great a man to ever allow he was the pupil of our friend Zoffani. This last may give you News of him.

I am just going of[f] from this place to my habitation.

I am my dear Humphrey,

Yours most truly and friendly,

CL. MARTIN.

IV. *From Capt. Jonathan Wood.*

Futty Ghur 1st Aug. 1789.

My dear Friend:—Your kind and entertaining letter by Swallow packet I duly received and by return of same conveyance I beg to return you my best thanks for it.—My Last I believe was dated to you from Cawnpore where I was then just arrived, the 2nd Brigade to which I belong having effected the relief of that Station. In that I gave you the particulars of the various events that had taken place at Benaras and Chunar from the time of your own and my departure from the latter. Duncan (31) who relieved

(31) Jonathan Duncan—afterwards Governor of Bombay from 1795 until his death there on August 1, 1811. There is a monument to his memory in St. Thomas' Cathedral, Bombay. His portrait was painted by J. J. Masquerier in Bengal in 1792, and a copy of William Ward's mezzotint (published in 1823) is in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Grant as Resident still continues. He inhabits Matta Dosses (32) Garden and the Bungalow at Sickrole (33) Neave (34) The 1st Assistant purchased Vanzandt's (35) which he has much improved. Treves (36) continues in his old habitation where I hear he spends as much money with less income and little or no better prospect of increase of it. D'Aguilar (37) is with him and I believe is doing very little for himself. Colonel Wilkinson (38) who commanded at Chunar is now at Barrackpore: by the death of Colonel Pearse he becomes the oldest Company's officer on the Establishment and of course in receipt of the additional £1,000 per annum. He constantly talks of returning to Europe by the ships of the season but although at times he is very much indisposed yet in my own opinion whilst no one returns to India to supercede him in the provincial command he will continue.

After having remained at Cawnpore one year only we arrived at Futty Chur which Station we relieved last November. The following month a Detachment consisting of 3 Battalions of Sepoys with its proportion of Artillery marched to Anopshur for the protection of the Nabob's Northern Dominions. Having remained there till the 25th of last month when by the rising of the Ganges the necessity for the continuance of the Detachment being no longer necessary [Sic] we returned to this place from whence I write to you.

(32) Matta Doss—query, Monohur Das. Cf. *Calcutta Gazette* for May 30, 1793: " Monohur Dass the great Benares banker has commenced a very useful and extensive work, for an individual. The large tank now digging on the Cheringee road, 360 feet in length and 225 feet in breadth, is, we understand, at his expense."

(33) Secrole—the " English Benares " (Lord Valentia). It was the Cantonment.

(34) John Neave (1763-1835) came out as a writer in 1779. He was a son of Sir Richard Neave (1781-1814) a well-known " Ship's husband " (owner of Indiaman) who was also Governor of the Bank of England and Chairman of the London Dock Company. Lord Valentia stayed with him in 1803 at Benares where he was then stationed as Senior Judge of the Court of Appeal and Agent to the Governor-General. He retired in December, 1803: and was succeeded in the Bengal Civil Service by his son Robert (1805-1843).

(35) John Vanzandt was an auctioneer at Calcutta: Sheriff in 1798.

(36) Pellegrine Treves—came out as a writer in 1781 and died at Lucknow on August 23, 1825. He was Resident at Benares from 1790 to 1794, and was second Judge of the provincial court of appeal at that place in 1799, when Cherry the Resident was murdered by Wazir Ali. While Davis's house was being attacked, he galloped off to Secrole and brought back a cavalry regiment.

(37) Benjamin D'Aguilar: a merchant at Benares, who was still then in 1799, at the time of Wazir Ali's outbreak. He accompanied Treves on his ride to Secrole to give the alarm. His natural son Lieut.-Col. George Thomas D'Aguilar of the Bengal Army died at Calcutta on October 9, 1839. He was born in London in 1783, the year before his father came out in the *Hussar*.

(38) The reference to " Colonel Wilkinson " is unintelligible. Major Hodson informs me that there was no colonel of that name in the Bengal Army at the time. " Wilkinson " must be a slip of the pen for " Mackenzie." Upon the death of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse on June 15, 1789, Colonel Alexander Mackenzie who was commanding at Chunar on July 1, 1787, became, the Senior officer on the Bengal Establishment: and he acted as provincial commander-in-chief until his resignation on January 3, 1793. He succeeded as sixth baronet of Coul on May 21, 1792, and died at Coul in Ross-shire on September 14, 1796. Colonel Christian Knudson was commanding at Fatehgarh in July 1787.

Graham from Lucknow is now here on his way to visit his Indigo plantation about 30 coss to the westward. He is well as are all your Lucknow friends. Ives is Resident there. The rest of the Gentlemen are Martine, Mordaunt, Taylor, Johnstone, Orr, Blaine, Robinson, Arnot and Carvalho (39). Shortly after my arrival here last cold weather a party* was formed consisting of Colonel Brisco, General Carnac, Major Smith and Sons, Melville, Bayley, Bushby, Clarkson (40) Daniels and self, escorted by 2 Companies of Sepoys and a small body of horse. We were absent more than 3 months. The first place we visited was Agra where we met with Major Palmer (41) and his family who accompanied us to Muttra where Scindiah then was. Mr. Daniel from recollection only made a portrait of him which was thought like (42). After remaining there a few days we proceeded on to Delhi when Palmer and Brisco paid their obeisance to Shaw Alum attended with the customary presents on these occasions. They amounted to some 30,000 rupees, Palmer being Resident with Scindiah on the part of the Nabob as well as the Company. It would fill a

(39) Edward Otto Ives succeeded Colonel Gabriel Harper as Resident at Lucknow on October 1, 1787 and made over charge on February 12, 1794, to George Frederick Cherry who was murdered by Wazir Ali in January 1799.

Frederick Maitland Arnot was a natural son of the Honourable Frederick Maitland, a post captain in the Navy by "a native woman of Jamaica," and came out with Hickey on the Sea horse in 1777. His wife, says Twining, "enjoyed the distinction of being the handsomest Lady in India": she was a niece of Hastings' friend, Sir John D'Oyly. Arnot was murdered near Krishnaghur where he was planting indigo, in September 1807.

L. Carvalho came out in 1785 was still a "trader at Lucknow" in 1797.

(40) Colonel Horton Brisco succeeded Colonel Alexander Mackenzie in command at Chunar in 1790: he had been aide-de-camp to Warren Hastings and commandant of the bodyguard (1778) and was a major-general at the time of his death at Calcutta on December 25, 1802, at the age of 61. General John Carnac was Clive's second in command at Plassey: he had been dismissed in 1780 from his seat on the Bombay Council for his share in concluding the disastrous convention of Wargaum but remained in India until his death at Mangalore on November 29, 1800, at the age of 84. He arrived in Calcutta by sea from Bombay on December 16, 1786, in order to say good-bye to Sir John Macpherson, and on July 2, 1787, presided at the launch of the *Clive*, "the largest ship ever built at Calcutta." Major Lewis Lucius Smith (died December 13, 1794) was in command of the 14th battalion of sepoys in July 1787. His sons were Lewis Ferdinand Smith, afterwards "Major in Dowlat Rao Scindiah's Service" (whose will was proved in Calcutta on November 28, 1820) and Emilius Felix, who was also in Scindiah's service (born 1777: died at Jhajjar, on October 5, 1801, as recorded in his brother's book, from the effect of a wound received at the battle of Georgegarh). John Melville was a civilian and "paymaster of the troops at Cawnpore and Futty Ghurr." There was no "Bayley" in the Bengal Army at the time: Captain Robert Baillie, who retired as a Lieut.-Colonel in 1797 and died in Edinburgh in 1820, may be intended. Lieut. Evan or Ewan Bushby died in Calcutta on February 5, 1793. Lieut. John Clarkson (not Clarksen as written) became a lieut.-colonel in 1801 and died at Cawnpore on January 13 of that year.

(41) Major William Palmer had been military Secretary to Warren Hastings: who sent him to Lucknow as Resident in 1782. He died at Berhampore on May 20, 1816, being then major-general in command of the division. There are many letters from him in the Hastings MSS. He married Bibi Faiz Bakhsh, "a begum of Delhi."

(42) An engraving of a portrait of Mahdaji Scindiah by William Daniell is to be found opposite page 212 of the *Oriental Annual* for 1834. No portrait by the elder Daniell has been traced.

volume were I to recite everything I saw: suffice it to say the eye was completely gratified and every expectation exceeded. Mr. Daniel with whom I know you are acquainted has made a vast variety of drawings which of course he will publish, and I hope he will [be] rewarded for his trouble, for never did people take more than himself and nephew. On his return from Delhi to Anopshur he set out on another party consisting of 5 or 6 Gentlemen with a proper escort. They visited Hurdwar, Sirinagur, Rampour and Phillibeat and returned to Futty Ghur by way of Bareilly (43). They remained here but a few days and set out for Lucknow where of course they will remain longer. On their return [journey] to the Presidency they intend visiting Fyzabad, Benares, Chunar, Bidzyghur and Rotasghur. I think by the time they visit this last place they will have made a very extensive tour. Mr. Daniel informed me that in his first subscription business for his Calcutta views, not being able to procure an artist to engrave them, he was obliged to do the whole himself in which he had much fatigue and no profit. May he be more successful in the last undertaking is my most sincere wish.

I know not whether you are a politician or not but some short account of the situation of affairs in this part of the world may perhaps not be disagreeable. Scindiah by the defeat, apprehending, and execution of Golaum Kader Khawn and the employment he has marked out for the other Mogul chief Ismail Beg in attacking the country of Naziph Couli Khawn (44), has for some time past remained inactive at Muttrah but not without expectation of trouble from the brother of the late Rohillah Golaum Kader Khawn, assisted by the Seiks but also a combination of Rajahpoots at the head of which is the Joynagur and other formidable Chiefs, who talk of expected assistance, when the rains are over, from Timmu Shaw (45). It is also said that fifteen lacks of rupees a year has lately been settled by the Poonah Government on Scindiah in consideration of his agreeing to an equal division of the late conquered Country between himself. Tookajee Holkar, and Aly Bahadur (46) the latter of whom, it is said, is nearly allied to the Peshwah's family. Duboin (47) whom I believe you knew at Lucknow, has entered the service of Scindiah and gained a great reputation in covering the retreat of his master after an unsuccessful action with the Joynagur Rajah some months ago (48). By the influence of Palmer he collected and remitted

(43) The arrival of the Daniells at Fatehgarh is announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 9, 1789 which publishes an "extract from a letter from Futty Ghur, June 8."

(44) Gholam Kadir, the Rohilla Chief, who had seized and blinded the Emperor Shah Alum, was captured and put to death with equal barbarity at Muttra in March, 1789. Ismail Beg died in captivity in the fort at Agra in 1799. Najat Kuli Khan whose wife was a sister of Gholam Kadir, was the son of Najaf Khan, the Wazir of the Emperor, who died on April 22, 1782.

(45) Joynagur Rajah=Partab Singh Raja of Jaipur: defeated by de Boigne at the battle of Merta on September 7, 1790.

Timmu Shaw=Timur Shah, King of Afghanistan.

(46) Aly Bahadur—son of Shamsheer Bahadur, and grandson of the first Peshwa Baji Rao.

(47) Duboin=Benoit de Boigne.

(48) The battle of Lalsot, 40 miles from Jaipur, which was fought early in 1787.

what was due to him and commenced cloth merchant. But, preferring his former occupation, he has again returned and is now in high favour with that Chief who has given him a much greater command. Having been so particular in giving [an] account of others, I shall hasten to conclude by giving some account of myself. Respecting health, by taking great care and using moderate exercise, I am much the same, as also in size, as when I last saw you, but I must own I never experienced the heat so oppressive as this season. Luckily, it did not last long. The thermometer when expos'd to the sun on the 3rd of June was 142, in the shade 112. The following morning at three o'clock we were much alarmed with a violent shock of an earthquake, but no mischief done. You who have been among us can tell what an European constitution after 18 or 20 years' residence in this country suffers at that period. The people at home can form no judgment. In situation (excepting older) I am much the same, still a Supernumerary Captain in the same corps on Lieut.'s allowance, and by the return of so many officers just as far as ever from the full pay of the rank. At present I am on field Batta which entitles me monthly to the receipt of near 400 Rs. By the time you receive this I shall be near the Presidency and have only half of it. By the Reliefs which are now made annual by his Lordship, the country is destroyed, the Company put to an additional expence without reaping one advantage, and lastly the situation of their officers made as uncomfortable as possible.

Adieu my dearest friend. Health and happiness to you is the sincere wish of

Yours,
JONN. WOOD.

V. *From William Baillie.*

Calcutta, 23rd November 1793.

My dear Sir,—I have just been favored with a sight of a letter from you to our friend Hamilton wherein you kindly remember me. About three years ago on the death of Dr. Diemer (49) a clergyman who was Superintendent of the Free School established here since you left this (50). I applied for and got the appointment and from him after that of Secretary also to the Free School Society. My duty is that of a general Controul over the whole Establishment of Teachers etc. to see whether their respective Duties are attended to and am immediately under the Governors of the Institution in number 12, consisting of Gentlemen of the first rank and respon-

(49) The Rev. Christman Diemer died (as a matter of fact) in Calcutta on February 21, 1792. He married on July 3, 1775, Mary Weston, one of the daughters of Charles Weston, who "manifested a grateful mind by cherishing in his old age his former employer and benefactor, the late Governor Holwell."

(50) The Free School was established in 1789 and merged with the older charity school in 1800. In 1792 was located in "the second house to the south of the Mission Church." In 1795 it was removed to "the garden house near Jaun Bazar" in what is now known as Free School Street, which had been the residence of Mr. Justice Le Maître. The purchase of the house, and the necessary repairs, cost Rs. 56,900. In 1803 the Secretary was G. W. Huttsman.

sibility (51). The salary is small—only 380 per month but having very good Apartments in the House I reckon the saving by that equal to 100 more, and from other trifling advantages make it as good as 500.

This in bad times like the present is not despicable: but a great advantage I have in being my own master, so little hampered in point of time that I have sufficient to spare for any profitable avocation I may apply myself to, and I employ all my Leisure in painting and etching, and not unprofitably. I am just beginning a sett of twelve views of Calcutta, Fort William, etc. (general ones) which I mean to execute as near as I can in the stile of Drawings by etching only the outline and filling in the tints with ink and then staining them. The price to be 3 Gold Mohurs the Sett. I have got copies subscribed for to the amount of 500 Rs. and upwards already, and I am not without hopes of clearing twice as much by them. The native artists tho' totally incapable of taking advice themselves can copy extremely well. All Daniel's were stained principally by natives. I understand perfectly well the mode of Acquatinta Engraving but unless the paper is very much soaked so as to make it apt to blot afterwards, when coloured it is very difficult to get clear impressions, of the tender tints especially, and where so many assistants are to be had and the shadows except broad masses can be put in more accurately with the pencil, it is hardly worth while to bite them in.

The views shall speak for themselves. If I have not got a complete sett ready before the last Ships I will send you at least part (52) as also a copy of a Plan of Calcutta (53) which I published last year. I have a vast fund of materials for finishing views in this Country, but what incitement is there to take pains in finishing drawings or paintings when there are few Judges, with fewer to commend, and almost none to buy? Nothing do I regret so much as being as it were fixed here—no hope of ever hearing the voice of praise in an Exhibition-room or, what is better, from Judges of painting. I have painted a few heads in oil, which have been esteemed good resemblances and as portrait is the only profitable branch (if any) I have determined to bend all my studies henceforth to that branch.

Alefounder goes home this season not richer than he came: had he not wandered out of his proper line, as I have done, he might have had another tale to tell. I think him much improved. Devis also intends going home this season, but I believe not with a fortune: poor fellow, had he not been so liberal in spirit, he might have saved, I doubt not, a handsome

(51) The Governors of the Free School in 1797 were John Bebb, C.S. member of the Board of Trade, Edward Hay, C.S., Secretary to Government, R. S. Perreau of the firm of Perreau and Palling, Henry Trail of the firm of Cockerell and Trail, Anthony Lambert, Sheriff of Calcutta in 1792, Charles Cockerell, the two chaplains and the two churchwardens and two sidesmen, Edmund Morris, Master of the Supreme Court, was the Treasurer.

(52) On May 29, 1794 Baillie was advertising in the *Calcutta Gazette* nine "Views of Calcutta," 15 inches by 11 in size, "printed from copper plates," at Rs. 25 for each view, or Rs. 80 for the set of nine. The whole set of twelve are at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

(53) Cf. *Calcutta Gazette* of May 30, 1793: "Gentlemen may be supplied with Good Impressions, not mounted, of the Plan of Calcutta, at a reduced price of Ten Sicca Rupees, by applying to Mr. Baillie at the Free School."

sum of money. He paints most delightfully, I think, especially small figures, in which I like his handling and colouring even better than Zoffani's. He lately finished a whole length portrait of Marquis Cornwallis which now hangs up in the Council-room and for which there are now proposals published for a print in mezzotint by a Mr. Hudson lately arrived, as I hear, for I have not seen him (54). Devis is to be rewarded by a subscription which, tho' not filled with half the name expected, amounted to above Rs. 21,000 a month ago. He went lately to Madras to finish from Nature the figures of Tippoo's two hostage sons and some officers etc. who are introduced in a historical picture he is painting at the reception of the hostages by Lord Cornwallis. Proposals are also published for a Print of that Picture to be engraved in England not less than the size of the Death of Chatterton from Copley's picture.

Mr. Smart has been long talked of as expected from Madras (55). Mr. Thomas Daniel after a three years excursion in which he went up to Sirinagur in the Bootan hills (56) and visited Delhi, Agra etc. returned to Calcutta 20 months ago with a collection of about 150 pictures which he set on foot a Lottery for. It has not quite filled however: those that fell to himself as prizes he carried to Madras where he disposed of them and some others in the same way. He made an excursion thro' the Mysore country etc. and came back, no doubt, with a vast collection—I need not say how correct and elegant. From Madras I understand he was to cross over to the Malabar Coast on to Bombay and from that home by way of Egypt or Bussora. I trust for the sake of the Arts as well as for himself he will arrive safe (with his nephew) and bring all his store with him. What an acquisition, an invaluable measure, for George the 3rd to possess!

There is a Fleming, a Mr. Solvyns, who arrived about two years ago: he paints Shipping extremely well—his Skies all in an uproar. However, he is now engaged in executing a Sett of 250 prints (etchings) of the natives in their various dresses and employments. He is an able artist as a painter of Sea-pieces: furthermore this Deponent Saith not. Lieut. Colebrooke sent home from Madras twelve drawings of views in the Mysore Country to be engraved in aquatint by Edic (57A). Lieut. Anbury also

(54) Proposals for the publication of this engraving are announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 28, 1793, at Sicca Rs. 40 an impression: and the print was published at Calcutta exactly a year later—in November 1794. There is a copy at the India Office in the room of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State. The original picture is now at Belvedere.

(55) He sailed for England instead: cf. *Madras Courier* of April 22, 1795: " Mr. John Smart is a passenger in the *Melville Castle* to be despatched on April 23 for England: also Mr. Grandpré."

(56) Srinagar in Garhwal is intended.

(57A) Cf. *Calcutta Gazette*, July 4, 1793: " Lieutenant Colebrooke has the pleasure to acquaint the subscribers to his proposed publication of Mysore Views that the Drawings were received in England by the Dutton in December last: that they were immediately put into the hands of Mr. Edy, an eminent Engraver in Aqua tinta, who was to execute them under the eye and superintendence of Mr. Paul Sandby: that on the 16th of January three of the plates were in great forwardness, and it was expected that six of the views would be ready for delivery in May. Mr. Edy had engaged to finish the whole set in a year." The views (twelve in number) were published in 1794.

has published proposals for a sett of 12 views in the Nizam's Country etc. Were I not a married man with three children and independent, I would like to ramble even in India for a year or two selecting views to take home.

A little money may yet be picked up here by executing views in this Country and selling them at such easy prices as will ensure a profit to those who carry them home, but Landscape painting will never do. Daniel found it a very discouraging pursuit with all his merit. Nothing but portrait has any chance, and even for that there is no great Rage at present.

Your very Sincere Friend,
WM. BAILLIE.

VI. *From Gavin Hamilton.*

Calcutta, 10th January 1794.

My dear Sir,

The task for the Arts is much diminished since you were here. Poor Alefounder can make no hand of it and means I understand to return to England this season. Devis would do well if he had application. He has painted a very good portrait of Lord Cornwallis which is put up in the Council Room, and Mr. Hudson, a young man lately arrived, whom perhaps you know, is about to make a scraping of it for which he will have a liberal subscription at SRs. 30 for the impression. I dare say he will get 150 names at least. He has also set out in painting small crayon Portraits at SRs. 100 each, which are very clever and I dare say he will do well. Garbrand has long since laid down his pencil (at which he certainly was but a sorry hand) and taken up the shuttle (57). He is settled at Luckipour and deals in Bafties (58) a Profession which he will find turn to much better account with him. Devis went lately to Madrass to finish a picture which has great merit. All the figures in it (about 20) are Portraits from life—extremely like. The subject is Lord Cornwallis receiving the hostage princes at Syringapatam from Tippoo's Vakeels. You will like much Daniel's drawings when you see him. I wish him safe home. He is a pleasant worthy man and a fine Artist.

You describe feelingly the state of Politics at home. Here we are all peace and quietness except the interruption, not to say *ruin*, which our trade suffers from the swarms of French privateers. What can our

(57) Caleb John Garbrand died at Chittagong on March 10, 1794 (*Calcutta Gazette*). He exhibited ten portraits at the Royal Academy between 1775 and 1780; and must have left for India shortly afterwards. There is roughly etched portrait in existence of Sir Eyre Coote, which is evidently copied from the picture by J. T. Seton at the India Office, and which is inscribed "J.T.S." pt., C. J. G. fect. Calcutta, May 1783 (see article by Sir William Foster in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 2). A daughter of his was baptized at Calcutta on May 9, 1784. "Luckipour" is in the Noakhali district.

(58) *Baftas*—Pars. *Gafta*, "woven": a kind of calico, made especially at Broach. So *Hobson-Jobson* which quotes from the Calcutta Tariff valuation of 1875: "Piece Goods, Cotton. . . Baftahs, score, Rs. 30."

Ministry be about—or what use can they have for all the frigates at home? We have one in the country—the *Minerva*—and she is not seaworthy. But indeed the ship and the commander of her are both a piece. Between the defects of both she is no manner of use. Upwards of 20 ships have been taken by paltry French privateers from Mauritius and the property lost to individuals [is] immense.

My dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
G. HAMILTON.

VII. *From William Baillie.*

Calcutta, 4th October 1795.

My dear Sir,

A Botany Bay Ship now here to receive a Cargo of sugar for the Company is to be dispatched in a few days I understand and to carry home a packet. It gives me the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your favour dated in October last.

It gives me much pleasure to hear that you are well and in a flourishing way. Long may it continue. If I continue to dabble in the Arts which I believe I shall do as long as I live or am able, I must follow your example and quit small objects for great (tho' I was never like you *magnus in parvo*) for I have materially injured my Sight by using a large magnifier in Etching and mean if I can persevere in my present resolution never to touch copper again unless now and then perhaps in etching an outline which will not cost me much trouble or exertion of my Sight, and even then only *pour s'amuser*. An engraver must have better talent than mine and novelty besides to recommend him to succeed here. As people do not consider me a profess'd Artist they do not I suppose conceive it possible that I am capable of executing anything well, especially if I have acquired the knowledge of it in this country. The set of views of Calcutta however which I publish last year by subscription gave much satisfaction to my subscribers. They were at least correct. I attempted only the outlines on the plate and finished them with Indian Ink and colours. They produced me about Eight Thousand Rs. odd clear. I have wasted a great deal of time on that most unprofitable branch of the Art, Landscape painting. It is a pleasing pursuit but not a *pot boiling* one. From several efforts I have made in portrait in oils some of my friends have encouraged me to lay myself out for what employment I can pick up in that way. It is only the higher ranks who can afford high prices or employ Artists of note. There are a great many of the middling class who neither can afford or will give five or six hundred Rs. for a head, who yet would venture to afford two or three hundred. There are but very few Judges of a good picture: a likeness is what most people want, and I think I can promise that. It is but making the Trial; if it does not succeed I shall be no worse than I am, and I still have enough for a decent subsistence from the salaries of my offices of

Superintendent and Secretary to the Free School. I mean by way of experiment to try my hand in crayons also. Any instructions you can convey to me I shall be thankful for.

You must ere this have seen Devis. He went home I think in December or January and on the same ship with Mrs. May and Mrs. Col. Morgan. His wife, I understand resides at Lisbon. It was a most infatuated step to marry a woman of that stamp. She was in keeping previous to her marriage by a Mr. Shais. He and Devis then I believe lived together. She was one of our Stage Heroines (59). I fear much that poor Devis has caught a Tartar. He went home it is said with the intention of having the plates from his series of 30 pictures representing the manufactures of the country engraved and painted in colours under his own inspection, as also to get his large Picture of Lord Cornwallis receiving the Hostage Princes engraved. It is a very valuable performance and the India Company ought to purchase it, as the figures are individual portraits painted from life and charmingly executed as far as it was done (60). Besides the heads executed while here, he had a great many more on other canvases, to paint which he went to Madras and which he meant to introduce. I never saw above four or five of the pictures [of manufactures] above mentioned and so far as I could learn, only a few were finished when he left the country (61). That of the Pottery is a charming little picture.

Mr. Home arrived here from Madras about three months ago, he is much sought after and has handsome prices, I hear. There is a Mr. Solvyns a Flemish artist (from Brussels) who arrived here about four years ago. His forte is shipping: his Landscapes I do not admire; his trees are "riggled" too much, like China painting. He is executing now a Sett of 250 Etchings, coloured, representing the trades characters occupations etc. of the natives. I have not seen any of them. They are not however pub-

(59) I have not traced this marriage in the Calcutta registers kept at the India Office. "Mr. Shaw," I imagine to be John Shaw who was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on October 26, 1789. Hickey mentions his arrival at Calcutta (Vol. III, p. 351): and his subsequent career is recorded in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 22, 23. He appears in the list of advocates in the *East India Register* for 1798 as holding the office of "junior counsel to the Company."

(60) The picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1802: "The reception of the hostage Princes of Mysore before Seringapatam by Marquess of Cornwallis: The whole of the figures from Nature." It was sold at Christie's on May 11, 1803, for £400: and is believed to be the painting presented in 1889 to the Junior United Service Club in London by Major-General Sir Henry Floyd, who found it in an old curiosity shop. The engraving seems never to have been undertaken: although subscriptions at Sn. Rs. 80 a print were invited by Devis in the *Calcutta Gazette* in February 1794.

(61) The series appears not to have been completed. There is record of the four following having been exhibited at the Royal Academy: 1796. Inside of a Weavers House of Santipore: the Tantie at his loom in the process of winding off the thread: 1799. The manufacture of salt: one of a series illustrative of the arts, manufactures, and agriculture of Hindustan: 1807. A brazier's shop at Patna: and A thrashing floor in Asia. The *Calcutta Gazette* of October 18, 1792, announces that "Mr. Devis is at present at Santipore busily employed in the execution of his paintings from which the engravings of the arts and manufactures of Bengal will be taken."

lished yet but promised in December (62). He executes them at the low price of Rs. 250 the Sett or one rupee each print. I have been told that the Etching is extremely rough and at the same time slight. He has picked up a good deal of money, I believe, from Stewart the Coachmaker for embellishing palankeens—I do not mean common ones but some that he has made for the country princess. The two first were ordered by Lord Cornwallis for the Mysore Princes, and were valued at about 6 or 7,000 Rs. The ornamental painting did Solvyns much credit—in one colour only on a gold ground. You can conceive nothing superior to the workmanship of these Palankeens (except some more expensive ones made since)—all the metal with feet etc. overlaid with Silver and in some parts solid Silver, the lining velvet with rich silver or gold embroidery and fringe. Stewart has lately made two for the King of Tanjore's sons (63) which it is said will cost near 10,000 Rs. each. They are Mahanas (63A) with Venetians etc., etc. Bedding and Pillows of Velvet as the Lining 15-Solvyns has also got money by picture cleaning: he is a true Dutchman, for he turns everything to advantage. Mr. Speke (64) has got a great number of Mr. Daniel's pictures. Some of which he got at the Lottery which Mr. Daniel made just before he left this and some since. You cannot therefore suppose they could be *much* decayed, yet Mr. Solvyns charged Mr. Speke 100 Rs. apiece for cleaning them—so I am told. He is going home this season having picked up, he says about forty thousand. I know him but for these three years past have had no communications with him. I like

(62) The *Calcutta Gazette* of February 6, 1794, contains the advertisement of a proposal for publishing a set of 250 engravings "illustrative of the manners and customs of the Natives of Bengal, by Balthasar Solvyns: the price of the work Rs. 250." Franz Balthasar Solvyns came over in 1791 in a foreign ship, *L' Etrusco*. According to Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*, he was born at Antwerp in 1760 and died in 1824. "His Indian Views were unsuccessful and involved him in financial embarrassment."

(63) Cf. *Calcutta Gazette* of August 20, 1795: "Two very elegant Mehannah Palanquins are just finished by Mr. Steuart who has shown great skill in the design and execution of them: they are commissioned by the Rajah of Tanjore."

(63A) *Mahannah, Meeana or Myana*—described by Henry Roberdeau ("A Young Civilian in Bengal in 1805": *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 117) as "a long Palanquin in which we lay full length with a support for the head and shoulders." According to the *East India Kalendar* for 1798 "Robert Stewart, coachmaker" came out in a Portuguese ship in 1784. The firm had already been established in 1775. A coloured print was at one time in the possession of Sir Charles Kesteven which bears the following title. "View of a House Manufactory and Bazar in Calcutta: from an original picture in possession of James Steuart, Esq., engraved by F. Jukes." It is possible that Solvyns painted the original. The premises represented were in Bentinck Street (where Messrs. Llewelyn and Co. succeeded Messrs. Steuart and Co. in occupation): and the firm was subsequently located in Lall Bazar until its removal to 3, Mangoe Lane where it still carries on business.

(64) *Peter Speke*—was a brother of Captain Henry Speke of H.M.S. *Kent* and uncle of "Billy Speke," the midshipman who "lost his leg and his life" at the capture of Chandernagore in 1757, and whose monument is in St. John's Churchyard. He was a member of the Supreme Council at Fort William from 1789 to 1801, and at the time of his death on November 30, 1818 was President of the Marine Board and acting President of the Board of Trade. Sixty-six minute guns, corresponding with his age, was fired from the ramparts of Fort William.

to see liberality in Artists but it was not to be found with Mr. S. He would not tell me the least part of his *Mechanical* knowledge of painting, even the composition of a varnish he had.

Poor Alefounder destroyed himself and shocking to relate with a penknife: his head was almost cut off. He had been very melancholy for some days: I never however heard the cause assigned.

There is a female artist in the country, a Mrs. Baxter. She married Mr. B. who was a shopkeeper here and passed, I believe, at home for a man of fortune. She is up the country somewhere. She is a poor Stick (65).

Renaldi has not been in Calcutta for several years. I believe he has done very well at the different out-stations (66).

Mr. Longcroft, Zoffani's aid de camp, is at Lucknow whether painting or trading I know not. There is a foreigner, a miniature painter *somewhere* about Calcutta (67). I never hear of his worth. There is also a Mr. Brown, Engraver and Miniature Painter, of whose worth I hear no recommendation (68).

Poor Hudson died the 26th of July last: He had been for two months and a half in a most helpless State, having lost the use of his arms and hands, and in an equal measure of his legs, by Rheumatism or Palsy. He went for a change of air to Chinsurah and had scarcely arrived there and sat down in the house of a friend Mr. Cotton (late of the General Bank) whom he went to see, when he leaned back in his chair and expired while the servants were bringing him a little refreshment. He was in a very weak state, terribly emaciated and to atone for want of appetite drank more than was good for him, which could not fail to hurt him; and the distresses he laboured under from launching out imprudently (eating the chickens before they were hatched) greatly tended, I believe to kill him. He executed a Plate from Devis's picture of Mr. Hastings which Mr. Chapman has (69), one from

(65) John Baxter and John Joys carried on business as Baxter and Joys. An indenture of May 1, 1788, indicates that the famous Harmonic Tavern was then in their occupation. Hickey records (Vol. III, p. 205) that he gave a carouse in April 1784 to celebrate the arrival of James Grant, an old shipmate of his on the *Plassey*. Being anxious to provide a worthy brand of claret he sent round to Baxter and Joys " who kept a Europe shop " and obtained three dozen bottles at Rs. 65 a dozen. John Baxter appears an " indigo manufacturer " in the *East India Register* of 1798.

(66) " Francis Renaldo, painter, up the country " : *East India Register*, 1798.

(67) I have not been able to trace this " foreigner." Possibly he may be " P. II. Rothmayer, miniature painter " whose name appears in the list of Madras inhabitants in the *East India Register* for 1798.

(68) John Brown, miniature painter, came out in 1793 (*East India Register*, 1798). The *Calcutta Gazette* has not disclosed any records of his activities.

(69) Hudson's mezzotint of the portrait of Hastings was published at Calcutta in July 1794. There is no copy recorded in the British Museum catalogue: and Messrs. Maggs Brothers when offering an impression for sale at £63 in 1925, observed that " according to the note in Chaloner Smith's *British Mezzotint Portraits* only one impression had then (1884) been met with, and we have been unable so far to trace another." There is however a copy at the India Office which was presented by Mr. G. W. Hastings, M.P. The original picture is at Delhi.

another of Lord Cornwallis (for which picture Devis got by subscription, it is said Rs. 22,000) and another from a picture in the Council-room of Lord Clive by Dance or Gainsborough. Hudson said the former, tho' it is called a picture of the latter. I think the last the best plate (70): but then he had a better original to work on.

I am glad to hear Zoffani is in such good health: pray remember me to him. I am happy to find the Messrs. Daniels got safe to England and that their Drawings have also arrived in safety. They must be a very great acquisition to the Arts were I His Majesty King G. I would offer a princely price for them. However I believe he likes money even better than pictures or drawings.

Mr. Colebrooke whose Mysore views you have no doubt seen, having lately married a Daughter of Mr. Bristow's, gave up house-keeping and sold off his furniture, when—would you believe it? (Shame on the Brutes!)—a sketch of Zoffani of a native woman bathing sold for 1 Rupee 8 annas. What would Hodges think if he knew that pictures for which Mr. Cleveland gave him 2,000 and Rs. 1,500 a piece sold last year at about a hundred Rupees a piece—scarce Two Rupees and 8 annas a square, canvas and all together?

Devis said he should return to India by the first Ships, Mr. Lambert and others his friends expect his return. I think he will come back with regret.

Mr. Howe has married since he came here a sister of Mrs. Colvin—a daughter of Mr. Patterson, well known in London as Deputy Patterson. They say she is elderly. Mr. Patterson was a great friend and Parson of Mr. Home's Brother-in-law. Sir Robert Milne, my relation; on his first setting out in life and procured him the building of Blackfriars bridge.

Poor Hamilton our friend has been very ill for these 9 months past. He is too much engaged in business now to have time to draw even if he were not prevented by sickness.

Your affecte. friend and Servt.,
WM. BAILLIE.

N. B. We have taken Trincomalee and Malacca from the Dutch and are in daily expectation of hearing that the Cape has surrendered. The King of Candy or Ceylon offered the English all the assistance in his power at the siege of Trincomalee and supplied provisions in abundance, so much are the Dutch detested there. An expedition is on foot against the Molucca or Spice Islands.

26th October.

(70) I have not traced this engraving. It is not mentioned by Chaloner Smith (op. cit.), Bartolozzi's mezzotint which was published in 1788, is taken from the original painting by Nathaniel Dance, R. A. which belongs to the Earl of Powis. The picture mentioned by Baillie is now at Delhi. There are replicas at the National Portrait Gallery Government House Madras, the Victoria Memorial Hall, and the East India United Service and Oriental Clubs in London.

In continuation October 26, [1795].

The packet will not be closed, it is said, till the end of the month—perhaps the arrival of three Indiaman three days ago may prolong the dispatch still more.

Cockerell and Trail have published an advertisement of Daniel's further publication of 24 Select Views in Hindustan, to be engraved by himself, and also coloured by him like the Original Drawings which will give them additional value (71). I admire Mr. Daniel as an Artist, not only for the elegant freedom combined with high finishing in his work but for the precision and correctness of his drawings. Hodges used many liberties and tho' his stile is very bold and free, I cannot say I like him as much as Daniel.

Having by me drawings made in 1783, 84, 85, of the Ruins of Gour and of different detailed pieces of the Architecture such as pillars friezes, etc. many of them richly decorated with Basso and alto reliev'd, I mean, if I can get it worth my while to publish some views of the Ruins, and give the drawings of the Columns etc. to the Asiatic Society to do with as their wisdom shall deem meet. I have many of them laid down from actual measurement and the Dimensions marked.

I am very sorry to hear that poor Hamilton gets worse and worse, and I fear I shall have the melancholy task ere long of informing you of his being no more. Society will lose in him one of the best tempered ingenious and worthy men it possesses and I shall lament him most sincerely (72).

Mr. Cleland (73) one of the principal partners in Dring's (formerly Burrell and Dring's) Auction Business and Commission Warehouse is gone home within these few days to bring out a picked Cargo for this country of English Articles. You will say, what Article is not already to be had here? Almost any thing from Brilliant cut Diamonds to Grindstones and from preserved Ovtolans to Scotch Oatmeal: yet these People know what Articles are most Saleable, and it will be a great matter to save on a whole Ship load the advance paid to Captains etc. on their investments. Dring and Co. within three or four years built a new warehouse called their "longroom." London produces none such, I dare say. It is 210 feet long by 40 wide, proportionally high, with about 11 windows in front-fitted from end to end with Tables piled up with Fine Goods of any denomination, and the Walls

(71) See *Calcutta Gazette* of October 22, 1795. Proposals for Baillie's views of Gour are published in the same issue. On December 6, 1798, it is announced that "The set of eight views of the Ruins of Gour and Rajmehal for which proposals were made in 1797, is completed: and copies may be had at fifty rupees (the subscription price) on applying to Mr. Baillie at No. 13 Chitpore Road. The size of the views is 16 inches by 11½, including a border, and they are executed in the manner of stained drawings."

(72) Hamilton was still alive and in Calcutta in 1797: if the entry in the East India Register of 1798 is to be trusted.

(73) The names of Walter Cleland and William Hickey are given in the *Calcutta Gazette* of April 2, 1795 as two of the Commissioners for the "New Calcutta Lottery."

fitted up with Prints (74). All these with the Sparkling of Lustres from the Ceiling etc., give it really an air of Grandeur that no Shop in the Universe, I dare say, beside can boast of.

7th November [1795].

The packet is still open. Remember me kindly to Zoffani and the Messrs. Daniels: Let me know if Seton is alive. Smith, you say, is at Edinburgh, his native home. What inducement has he to paint for money. He carried home I heard, 20,000.

Yours ever,

WM. B.

(74) "Twelve views of Calcutta" by an unnamed artist are advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette* of April 23, 1795 by Dring and Cleland for sale at the reduced price of sa. Rs. 60 or half sets of six at sa. Rs. 32.

Bengal Chiefs' Struggle for Independence in the Reign of Akbar and Jahangir.

§ 4. *The period preceding the rise of the Bura-Bhuiyans : the rule of the Karrani Kings.**

BENGAL was looked upon with anything but favour by the Mussalmans of Western India even from the dawn of Muslim Rule in India. Ibn Batuta who came to Bengal in 1345 A.D. has left us a record of the amazingly cheap rate at which the every-day necessities of life sold in Bengal at that time; but all the same, he has not failed to add that the country was disliked by the Muhammadans of upper India who called it *Dojakh-i-Purniyamat*, i.e., a Hell full of good things! The country was full of mist, subject to violent storms and incessant rains. Abul Fazl also says that the country was notorious under the name of *Bulghak-Khana*, i.e., the 'House of Strife' from the earliest times. (Akbarnama, III, p. 256.). Whoever was sent by the Emperor of Delhi to rule this distant country attempted to rebel as soon as he had established his position here!

After the battle of Chaunsa, Sher Khan became master of Bengal and Bihar and ascended the throne under the title of Sher Shah. He left Khizr Khan as Governor of Bengal in 1540 A.D. and himself proceeded westwards to fight Humayun. It is well-known how, soon after, Humayun was defeated in the battle of Kanauj or Bilgram and driven out of India and Sher occupied himself in consolidating his newly-acquired empire. When Sher was engaged in fighting the unruly Gakkars on the western frontier of India, news reached him that Khizr Khan, in whose charge he had left Bengal, was showing signs of disaffection. He had married the daughter of Mahmud Shah, the late King of Bengal, and was affecting the airs of an independent prince! The news that Khizr Khan also had caught the contagion of the familiar Bengal malady disturbed Sher Shah and he lost no time in leaving the subjugation of the Gakkars in able hands and himself marched with wonderful rapidity towards Bengal. One fine morning Khizr Khan awoke, only to find Sher Shah knocking at the gate of the fortress at the famous pass of Teliaghari!

We shall have frequent occasions to mention the pass of Teliaghari: so it is necessary to have some idea of this "Gate of Bengal" at the outset.

There are three important thoroughfares leading from North-Western India to Bengal. Patna may be taken as the point where the one main road separates into these three roads. The Southern route is called the Jhar-khand route. It starts from Patna, passes by the town of Bihar, then runs south-east and enters the hills and jungles of Jhar-khand (Santhal Parganas). On the way it touches Gidhaur, Chaki, Deoghar, etc. and then enters the Birbhum District. It passes by Nagar and Siuri in Birbhum and finally reaches Murshidabad. This route is clearly traced on Map No. 9 of Rennel's Bengal

* Continued from the previous number.

Atlas. It passes through a rather unfrequented, jungly and hilly region, the abode of semi-independent uncivilized till-tribes, and no invader from the west willingly chose this route to advance into the heart of Bengal.

The second route lay to the north of the Ganges. It was called the Tirhoot route. This route also is very well traced in Rennel's Atlas. This also ran through the territories of semi-independent chiefs. Moreover, the river Koosi on the way was a great barrier. It is almost as broad as the Ganges, while the current in it is even stronger. To lead a big army across the Koosi was indeed a difficult task. Firoz Shah Tughlak twice invaded Bengal through this route. Hardly any other noteworthy person is met with in history attempting this route.

But the main thoroughfare was undoubtedly the one that ran along the southern bank of the Ganges. It emerges from Patna and passes by Bhagalpur to Colgong. Even for some distance after Colgong, there is no noteworthy barrier on the way. But then suddenly steep hills rise up in the front and effectively bar the way. These hills are extremely steep and extend southwards for about 80 miles and form the northern boundary of the Birbhum district. The broad expanse of the Ganges lies immediately north of these hills and it flows past, actually washing their rugged feet. The actual bank of the river, however, is comparatively less rugged and it is possible to take a road over it. It is about a mile broad here, and the breadth increases as one advances. The narrowest portion is the famous pass of Teliaghari and a fort was constructed here completely blocking the way. The Teliaghari pass is known as the Gateway of Bengal from the earliest times.

When Khizr Khan learnt that Sher Shah had already arrived at Teliaghari, he had no other alternative than to advance from Gaur to receive him, with as much of cheerfulness on his countenance as he could summon up. But nothing could save him. He was thrown into prison and Sher Shah with his characteristic energy set about combating this Bengal malady. The specific that he found out is only another proof of his far-sighted political wisdom. If a powerful Governor is vested with the functions of almost an independent sovereign, he will ultimately and very naturally try to be completely independent. As this has always been the situation in Bengal, Sher Shah did away with the Governorship altogether. He divided the country into a number of Sarkars or districts, put a district officer over each of them and made them directly answerable to the Emperor. An officer called Kazi Fazilat was appointed to supervise the work of the District officers to ensure harmonious working. He was vested with very little military power. His function was to communicate imperial orders to the District officers and to see that the District officers obeyed the imperial orders and did not fight amongst themselves.

This excellent arrangement remained in operation as long as Sher Shah lived. The Cannon with Sher Shah's inscription referred to above (*B.P.P.*—Jan.-March, 1928, p. 35 and foot-note) is dated 949 H.=1542 A.D., only two years after the fall of Khizr Khan. The inscription states that the cannon

was wrought by (1) one Sayid Ahmad Rumi in the reign of the just King Sher Shah in 949 H. In Akbarnama, Vol. I, we meet with three Rumi Khans, but none of them is Sayid Ahmad. The cannon is at present in the Dacca Museum and it may be noted here that an exactly similar cannon, with the self-same inscription, was picked up from the bed of the Dolai canal that connects the rivers Lakshya and Budiganga, and runs through the eastern portion of the town of Dacca. This second cannon was found in digging earth from the bed of the Dolai canal, near the Iron Suspension Bridge at Dacca.

Before we leave this topic, it should be mentioned that Sher Shah's *Sarkars* were accepted almost *verbatim* in Todar Mal's Rent-roll. It is also possible that some of the Bara-Bhuiyans could trace their descent from the District officers of the time of Sher Shah.

Islam Khan ascended the throne after the death of Sher Shah and reversed all his father's beneficent arrangements. He sent one of his relatives, Muhammad Khan Sur, to govern Bengal and an Afghan of noble birth called Sulaiman Karrani to govern Bihar. When the vicious Adil Shah unjustly seized upon the throne of Delhi, Muhammad Khan Sur in Bengal declared his independence and was killed in battle with Adil. Muhammad's son Bahadur, however, advanced next year with an army and with the help of Sulaiman Karrani, Adil was defeated and killed.

Bahadur ruled in Bengal up to 1560 A.D. and his brother Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah ruled after him up to 1563 A.D. When Jalal's son fell by the hands of an assassin, Sulaiman Karrani occupied Bengal and Bihar with the help of his brother Taj Khan Karrani. Taj Khan ruled Bengal for some time as the representative of his brother. Soon he died, however, and Sulaiman removed the capital from Gaur to Tanda and became the undisputed master of Bengal and Bihar. He was a very able and cautious man and refrained from assuming the insignia of an independent prince, while outwardly he professed obedience to Emperor Akbar. Thus he spent his days in peace and passed away in 1572 A.D. His eldest son Bayazid ascended the throne of Bengal after him, but fell a victim to the assassin's knife within a year. Thereupon, Daud the second son of Sulaiman ascended the throne. On coming to the throne, Daud took a stock of his belongings and found that he was master of 1,40,000 soldiers and 20,000 pieces of artillery,—besides immense riches. He forthwith declared his independence, coined coins in his own name, and advanced to fight Akbar.

The history narrated in the above two paragraphs can be read in any text-book on Bengal history and has been compiled only to serve as a handy reference.

It is outside our scope to describe in detail the contest between Daud and Akbar. Inquisitive readers are advised to consult Stewart's or Banerji's

(1) The inscription uses the word 'Amal' which Mr. Stapleton took to mean "handiwork." Khan Bahadur Sayid Aulad Hasan wanted to make it out as—"During the administration of" and thus he wanted to take Sayid Ahmad Rumi as an administrator, i.e., one of the District Officers during the reign of Sher Shah. (Dacca Review, 1911, p. 219). On a reference from me, he has kindly informed me that he is now of opinion that Mr. Stapleton was right.

History of Bengal, or 'Akbar' by Dr. V. A. Smith. Abul Fazl is never tired of extolling the wonderful good fortune of his Hero. A careful perusal of the history of the long-drawn contest will, without doubt, lead all thinking students of history to follow in the wake of Abul Fazl and will extort from them the admission that Akbar's cause appeared destined to prosper even against all odds! The military strength of Daud was very considerable, perhaps in no way inferior to Akbar's. He was served by brave and faithful officers and at the helm of affairs of the state was a man of extraordinary political sagacity. On the other hand, the Mughal officers and mercenary chieftains were amazingly selfish, intriguing and unfaithful. When we consider that Daud lost with so many assets in his favour and Akbar won with so many odds against him, we cannot but admit that considered as a King and a man, Akbar was immensely superior to Daud. Nizamuddin, the author of *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, calls Daud 'a dissolute scamp' and says that the art of governing was not his business. Possibly Daud was dissolute. He had little brains and even that little was full of wrong ideas. But undoubtedly he was unfortunate, above all.

The current histories of Bengal give us the idea that it was Daud, who through foolishness bade adieu to the cautious policy of his father by declaring his independence and minting coins in his own name and thus invited ruin. Stewart's history says so, and even the professedly up-to-date history of Bengal by Mr. R. D. Banerji has the same version. But it is not history and is entirely the reverse of truth. The contest was inevitable. The aggressive Akbar was only patiently awaiting the death of the astute Sulaiman Karrani to fall upon the Kingdom of Bengal and Bihar and it was not Daud's action which precipitated the invasion.

The news of the death of Sulaiman Karrani reached Akbar when he was proceeding on an expedition against Guzrat. The effect is best described in Abul Fazl's own words:—

"One of the occurrences of this time was that Sulaiman Karrani, who exhaled the breath of power in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar, departed this life. Ascetic sages and politicians who had regard to the repose of mortals, which is bound up with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought, recognised in the emergence of this event an instance of the helps of fortune, whilst those who were void of understanding, and who made the agitation of the black-fated Afghans in the Eastern Provinces an argument in support of their own views, and opposed the expedition to Guzrat, were by this event cast into the pit of failure. Another faction, whose narrow intellects could not comprehend the idea of marching to Guzrat and of overcoming it, and which indulged in foolish prattle, made the event a pretext for prating and urged the propriety of marching to the Eastern provinces. As the God-worshipping Khedive reflected that the oppressed ones of Guzrat should be brought into the cradle of grace, he did not give ear to these futilities and said with his holy lips that it was good that the news

of Sulaiman's death had come during the march to Guzrat, for had it come while he was in the Capital, assuredly he would, out of deference to the opinions of most of his officers, have addressed himself in the first place to an expedition to the Eastern Provinces. What necessity was there for the Shahin Shah's personal visit to these countries after Sulaiman's death? Now the conquest of that country would be accomplished by the skill and courage of the officers. Accordingly an order was sent to Munim Khan, Khan-khanan, that he should conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in concurrence with the other officers."

Akbarnama, III, p. 5—6.

Analysed, the above passage gives us the following items of information:—

- (1) The imperialistic designs of Akbar, of bringing the whole of Hindustan under one rule, were always present before him. Sulaiman Karrani, master of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was a very formidable obstacle on the way.
- (2) As soon as the news of Sulaiman's death reached Akbar, most of his officers advised him to abandon the Guzrat campaign and proceed to the Eastern Provinces: Akbar would have listened to them, had he been at the Capital.
- (3) As it was inconvenient to return abandoning an expedition which had already progressed to a considerable extent, Munim Khan was ordered to begin the conquest of Bengal.

Those who had believed so long that it was Daud's declaration of independence that precipitated the conflict, will, I hope now be convinced that it was nothing of the kind. It was the old old story of the wolf and the lamb. About two centuries before Daud, the same treatment was meted out to Sikandar Shah son of Iliyas Shah by the emperor Firoz Tughlak. Fortunately Sikandar was more than able to hold his own and could deal out some hard blows to the aggressive emperor which sent him back to Delhi, a wiser man. Had Daud been an able man like Sikander, he could also undoubtedly have done the same.

But even the tale of the declaration of independence by Daud is not true. Let us again call as witness Akbar's historian himself:—

"When Sulaiman Karrani became possessed of Orissa, Bihar and Bengal, he as being a hypocrite did not openly cast aside the thread of obedience. He always sent petitions and presents and so kept himself known at court. On account of this adroitness, the veil of his hypocrisy was not rent away. . . . When he died, the Afghans raised up Bayazid, his eldest son in his stead. His elevation helped his folly, and he, in conjunction with the vagabonds of that country, had the Khutba read in his own name. In his presumption, he abandoned the dissimulation, by which his father had tamed the haughty and rebellious and proceeded to oppress and vex them."

Akbrnama, III, p. 28.

So Daud was not the innovator,—he only followed the footsteps of his elder brother. “Nothing succeeds like success”—is a well-known English proverb. Sikardar Shah returned some hard knocks to the aggressor Firoz Tughlak and ensured the independence of the Kingdom of Bengal for two hundred years. Daud failed to do that and so the historian has no hesitation in calling him a ‘Dissolute Scamp’ and we of the present day also easily take him to be a good-for-nothing fellow. Daud probably was a worthless fellow. He was unfortunate, without doubt. But, that he was not guilty of any political misdemeanour has, I hope, been brought out by the above discussion.

Daud's Wazir was called Ludi Khan. After Bayazid's death, it was Ludi who placed Daud on the throne of Bengal. Ludi was undoubtedly a man of very great ability and political far-sight and even Abul Fazl calls him —“the rational spirit of the Country” (Akbrnama, III, p. 28). When Daud was set up on the throne of Bengal, Gujar Khan, the Afghan Chief, set up Bayazid's son on the throne of Bihar. At this juncture Munim Khan advanced from Chunar towards Patna to invade Eastern India. The far-sighted Ludi Khan, nothing was dearer to whom than Afghan independence, exerted himself and made up with Gujar Khan, and Munim Khan had to turn back, content with some presents and flattering words from Ludi Khan. Bribes, or to say more politely, presents are often very potent political weapons and Ludi this time used them with good effect to ward off the invasion of Munim Khan; and the Khan Khanan of the Mughal Empire, a highly respected and trusted veteran of Akbar's army, had no scruples to accept them! Abul Fazl does not fail to note the want of earnestness of Munim Khan and shrewdly hints that it was due to silver inducement from the enemy.

Just at this time, rebellion broke out at Gorakhpur, a Mughal province and Munim Khan's whole energy was taxed to meet the situation. The Mughal generals forthwith fell to quarrelling among themselves and many of them left Munim Khan's side and walked away. Ludi seized this opportunity and advanced to wrest Jaunpur from Mughal hands with the help of the famous general Kalapahar, a Hindu convert. Soon Munim Khan and Ludi met in the battlefield and Munim Khan had to abjectly sue for peace. Akbar was at this time busy taking Surat and could send the Khan Khanan no assistance. While Daud's cause was thus prospering everywhere, this foolish young King listened to evil counsellors and promptly began to work his own ruin. He took it into his head that some day Ludi might set him aside and put the son of Taj Khan Karrani on the throne. He therefore advanced with an army to Munghyr and put that unfortunate young man to death. Ludi's daughter was affianced to this young man, and Taj Khan was Ludi's old master. Over and above, brisk conspiracy went on at Daud's court against Ludi. Goaded to despair, Ludi left off the conquest of Jaunpur and turned eastwards with an army against Daud. The victorious cause of the Afghans collapsed at once like a house of cards.

Kalapahar (Hindu name Raju) refused to fight against Daud and left Ludi. Then Ludi had to seek the help of the same Munim Khan who had abjectly begged peace of Ludi, only a few days before. Ludi took shelter in the fort of Rhotas.

Akbar was continually pressing Munim Khan to proceed with the conquest of Eastern India and he now sent Todar Mal to see for himself and report on the state of affairs. As his report was not unfavourable to Munim Khan, Akbar kept quite for some time.

But keeping quiet for any length of time was not in Akbar's nature. He began to send general after general to help Munim Khan and at last, when Todar Mal was again sent by Akbar to urge Munim Khan on, the latter had no other course but to advance again into Eastern India.

The patriotic Ludi could no longer keep quiet. He was easily persuaded by Katlu Khan and Gujar Khan to forgive Daud and take up again the Afghan course. He vigorously marched forward and effectively checked the advance of the Mughal army on the banks of the Son.

Katlu Khan, and Srihari Vikramaditya, the father of Pratapaditya of Jessore, were the evil geniuses of Daud. As soon as Ludi took charge of the affairs of the Afghans, and they began to prosper again under his able guidance, these wretches grew envious of him again and began to work on the suspicious heart of the brainless Daud. Tabakat-i-Akbari says that Ludi effectively checked the advance of Munim Khan on the banks of Son and compelled him to make peace. Akbarnama does not record the conclusion of any peace. But peace or no peace, there is no doubt that the Mughal advance was checked and Ludi was giving Daud splendid service. But Daud was bent on ruining himself. Ludi fell a victim to the evil counsel of Srihari and Katlu Khan. He was decoyed and made a prisoner and condemned to death. Advising Daud, even with his last breath, to carry on the war with the Mughals with energy, this noble and patriotic Afghan gave up his Soul to his Maker. Srihari was made Wazir in Ludi's place and Katlu became the Wakil. The desire of the conspirators was fulfilled.

There was now nobody left to check the advancing Mughals and they easily crossed the Son. And,—let Abul Fazl speak,—“Owing to the daily increasing fortune of the Shahin Shah, Daud, with such an army and equipment, went off in a cowardly fashion and shut himself up in the fort of Patna. With his own foot, he imprisoned himself in the furnace of destruction!” (Akbarnama, III, p. 101.) Munim Khan advanced and laid siege to the city of Patna.

Akbar, conquered Guzrat and returned to the Capital on the 5th Oct. 1573. Without delay, he began to send one general after another to help Munim Khan. Munim Khan thus appears to have started for Eastern India by the end of October or the beginning of November—a suitable time, no doubt, to start on an expedition to the low-lying eastern tracts. It was probably in December, 1573 A.D. that Patna was besieged. In April, 1574, Munim Khan reported to Akbar that the siege was not progressing.

On the 15th June, 1574, Akbar himself started for Patna. He reached the vicinity of Patna on the 15th August. It was the height of the rains. But the swollen rivers, high gales, the sinking of some of the expeditionary boats on the way, nothing could check the progress of this wonderful man on the way. The state of affairs on the battle field changed as if by magic, as soon as Akbar was on the scene. Patna is situated on the southern bank of the Ganges. On the northern bank of the Ganges, opposite Patna, the small town of Hajipur is situated. Hajipur was serving so long as the feeder of Patna, and the latter was standing siege for such a length of time only because it could draw its food from Hajipur. Akbar arranged to occupy Hajipur immediately on his arrival and it fell quickly. Alarmed at the state of affairs, Daud one dark night practically left his army to its fate and quietly slipped away by a boat. Srihari took charge of Daud's riches and lost no time in following his master! (2)

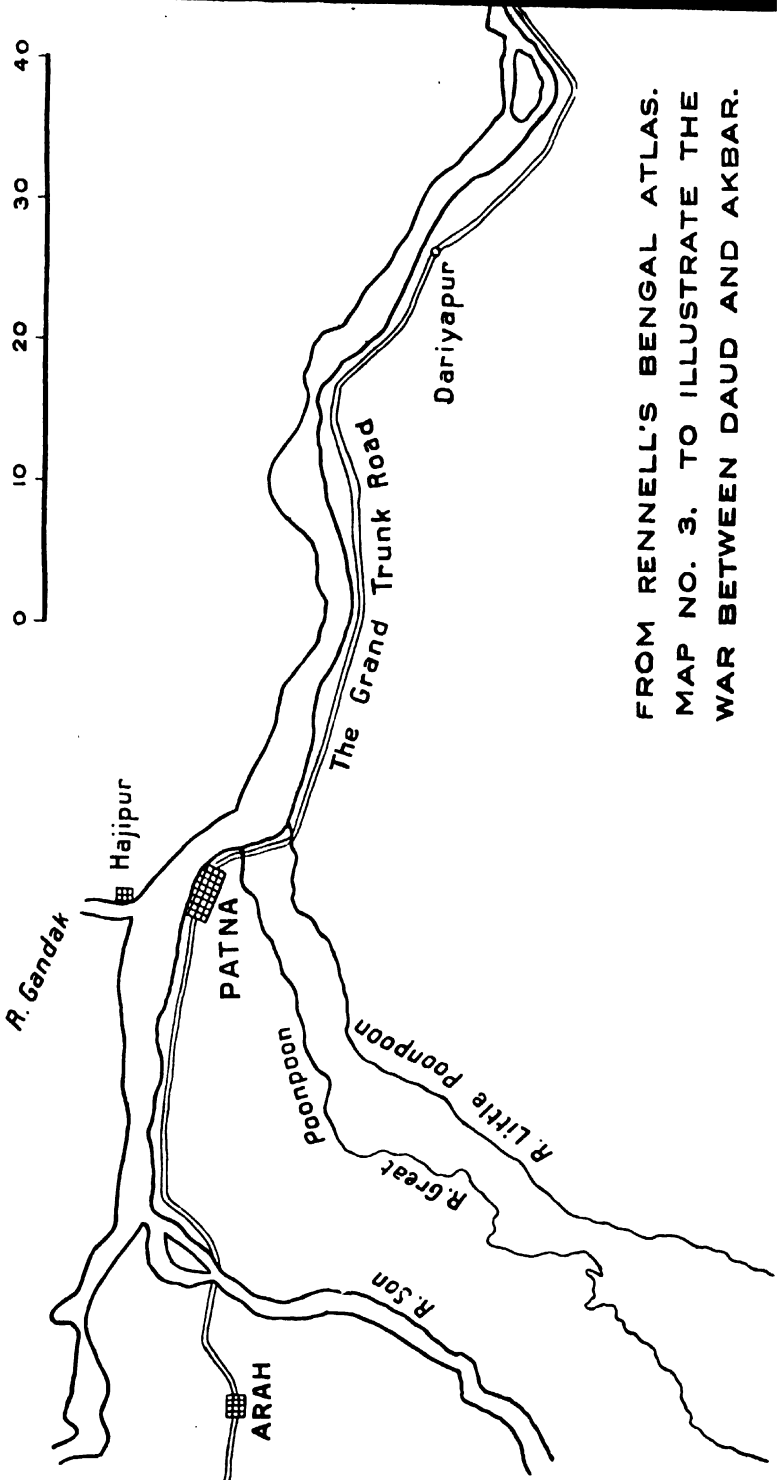
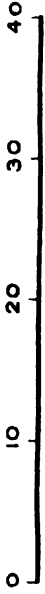
Gujar Khan came out of Patna with the bulk of Daud's army and his elephants. The night was a very dark one. It was the height of the rains. The rivers were swollen and all the country around was flooded. Nizamuddin in his *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, compares this night to the Doomsday night. Daud's army suffered terribly in this disastrous evacuation. Countless numbers were drowned in the ditch round the fort, vast numbers perished in the river, while the frightened elephants trampled to death not a few. The river Poonpoon falls into the Ganges ten miles east of Patna. The bridge on it gave way with the weight of the flying multitudes and many elephants and soldiers were thus drowned in the Poonpoon.

The news that Daud was evacuating Patna reached Akbar when a considerable portion of the night was still left. He proposed an immediate advance and occupation of Patna, and was only dissuaded by the importunities of his officers. As soon as it was dawn, Akbar advanced and occupied Patna. Then began a hot pursuit. Gujar was soon overtaken and he fled, leaving all the elephants behind. Heedless of danger, Akbar led the pursuit. He swam the Poonpoon on horseback and only stopped at Dariyapur, about sixty miles from Patna! Thus, after having driven Daud out of Bihar, and commanding Munim Khan to extirpate Daud and his Afghans from Bengal, Akbar turned back towards the Capital on the 24th August, 1574. Within ten days, as if by magic, Daud's discomfiture was complete.

N. K. BHATTASALI.

(2) Some Afghan chronicles like *Tarikh-i-Daudi* and *Makhjan-i-Afghana* say that Daud could not be persuaded to leave Patna and so Katlu and others conferred amongst themselves and administered narcotic to Daud and thus carried him unconscious out of Patna. If this story be true, this is another instance of the puerility and brainlessness of Daud, which gives such a glaring contrast to the strong personality of Akbar. Experienced generals never require to be told when retreat is imperative. He quietly arranges for the retreat of the greater part of his army, keeps the enemy engaged and inattentive by a show of 'fight as usual' and then himself slips away on the earliest opportunity. In Daud's disastrous evacuation of Patna, we vainly seek for any of these features of an orderly retreat!

British Miles



FROM RENNELL'S BENGAL ATLAS.
MAP NO. 3. TO ILLUSTRATE THE
WAR BETWEEN DAUD AND AKBAR.

A Description of North Bengal in 1609 A.D.

[**K**HWAJAH ABUL HASAN, afterwards surnamed Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan, was a brother of Nur Jahan and the father of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal. In 1608, before the rise of his sister to share the throne of Jahangir, he was appointed to the comparatively humble post of *diwan* of Bengal, *vice* Wazir Khan, at the same time that a new governor was sent out to this province in the person of Shaikh Ala-ud-din Chishti, surnamed Islam Khan. Abul Hasan had a favourite retainer, named Abdul Latif, the son of Abdullah Abbasi, a native of Ahmadabad in Gujrat, whom he asked to come from his home to Delhi. Starting from Ahmadabad on 10th December 1607, Abdul Latif joined his master in the Emperor's retinue at Ludhiana, and with the royal party came to Agra (11th March 1608). He has left a diary of this journey and the next one to Bengal, with descriptions of the cities, shrines and manners observed on the way. Only one manuscript of this Persian work is known to exist, and I translate the following account from it, with some abridgement, J. S.]

Starting from Agra by boat with Khwajah Abul Hasan, on 8th April, 1608, we reached Allahabad on 28th April, Benares on 3rd May, Patna on 10th May, Mungir on 17th May, and Rajmahal on 5th June.

Rajmahal was then the capital of Bengal. On 7th December, 1608 we left Rajmahal in the train of Islam Khan, the new governor of Bengal, and moved down the Ganges towards *Bhuti*. Our first voyage was to *pargana* Goāsh, in the *sarkar* of Narangabad. On our left hand lay the cities of Gaur, Tanda, Malda and Pandua, (the last being the burial-place of His Holiness Makhdum Shaikh Nur, Qutb-i-Alam, the successor of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya; but we did not disembark to visit these places. Near Goāsh we cross the Ganges.

We halted for a month or two at Alaipur, a village in *sarkar* Naurangabad (*sic*), in expectation of the coming of Rajah Satrajit (surnamed Shahzada Rai) the zamindar of Bhushna and of Pratapaditya the Rajah of Jessore. Alaipur is an ordinary place and deserves no praise. But one league from it are two villages named Bāghā and Malik,—the former appertaining to *pargana* Chandiābāzu and the latter to *pargana* Alaipur.

Hawādhā Miān, an old sage, aged about a hundred years, is living here [at Bāghā]. In the centre of the village stands a beautiful tank,—which is called *pukhar* in the Bengali tongue,—filled with a water that might excite the rivalry of the *Kausar* spring in heaven. Around this tank

the sons and dependents of this holy man have constructed *chak-bandis* (houses grouped round a quadrangle), which overlook the tank. There is a mosque here which was constructed in 930 A.H. (1) by Sultan Ala-ud-din Husain Shah, one of the former Kings of Bengal.

In the house of Hawādhā the wise, they have built a college with grass-thatched roofs and mud-plastered walls. Many of his dependents and students are here engaged in study. On the banks of the tank are jack and mango trees,—green, flourishing and giving shade. Around the village the entire countryside is green and refreshing [to look at]; it has been granted to him for his subsistence (*madad-i-mash*). In truth, it is a very delightful place. In this province we have not beheld any spot other than this which savours of Islam and is free from overcrowding.

How happy are the inhabitants of this retreat, and how lucky are the elders among the residents of this woodland, as they have no concern with other people, nor have other people anything to do with them!

At Alaipur the officers gave a parade of the imperial artillery and war-boats of the province of Bengal, [before the governor]. For five or six months most of the land of this province remains under water, during which period, one must use boats for the purposes of warfare, travelling or hunting. [Various classes of boats described.]

On 2nd March 1609 we started from Alaipur for Nāzirpur. Our first halt was at Fathpur, where we celebrated the Feast of the Sacrifice (*Id*) and the *Nauroz*, and where Rajah Satrajit waited on the governor with a present of 18 elephants. . . We left this place on 30th March and reached the village of Rānā Tāndapur. Here Salim Khan (zamindar of Hijli), the brother of Rajah Indra Narayan (zamindar of Pachet in the Jharkhand hills), and Bir Hambir (Rajah of *sarkar* Mandāram), came with Shaikh Kamāl (the agent previously sent by the governor) and presented 109 elephants.

On 26th April, Rajah Pratapaditya had audience of the governor at Bajrapur, a village (2) . . . presented six elephants, some precious articles, camphor, *aguru*, and about Rs. 50,000 as his tribute. After staying for some days at Court, he took leave for his own country. On 30th April we left Bajrapur and reached Shahpur. We halted on the bank of the river Jamunā, which the Hindus also call the *Atrai*, the water of which has a pleasant taste.

Here Islam Khan left his camp and servants and started, with light equipment, in the company of the chiefs of his army, to hunt elephants in the direction of Nāzirpur. He spent nine days and nights in the jungle of Nāzirpur and returned to his camp after capturing 32 elephants, male and female.

(1) Husain Shah died in 925 A.H. Therefore 930 should be read as 913 or 903.

(2) The text is corrupt here. The village seems to be represented as standing on the Nārad river.

After his return, he built a bridge over the river Jamuna [Atrai] and led his army across it to Ghorāghāt, which was reached on 2nd June. Here we passed the rainy season, building thatched houses.

Ghoraghat is a *sarkar* of the province of Bengal. The town (*qasba*, literally a village with a market) is an old one. On account of the elevation of the land, . . . and its good climate, it surpasses other parts of Bengal. It is the best *qasba* in the province. As the land is high, it is rarely covered by flood water. The river Karatoyā, which rises in Morang (north of Purnea), passes below it. It lies on the road to Kuch Bihar and the country of Usman Afghan (*i.e.*, Sylhet). Here are found abundance of *tangan* (hill ponies), *do-patta* and precious stuffs manufactured in Kuch and the *maina* bird, [a kind of starling, *Coracias Indica*].

This bird looks like a small crow and is very diminutive in size. After a short time spent in teaching it, the bird learns to repeat nicely every language and lesson that one may wish; it becomes a rational speaker eloquent of tongue! After it has acquired the habit of speaking, it can repeat every word that any man may speak [in its hearing]. It can exactly reproduce the cries of the cock, the horse, or any other animal that it may hear. Whatever word in Persian or Hindi is spoken [before it] it also recites and it repeats the sound of every musical instrument which is played [in its hearing]. It lives on milk and rice. It is a very delicate creature, and seldom breeds in any other country than that in which it is found. It is mostly brought to Ghoraghat from the side of Kuch and Orissa (3). Very often merchants live here for the purpose of buying the above articles of presentation. Formerly Ghoraghat was the seat of the ruler, and even now the governor often visits it. Many *faqirs* and beggars live here. . . On 15th October 1609, the Nawab's army set off from Ghoraghat for *Bhati*.

In the short period that the imperial officers halted at Ghoraghat, the Nawab built a Jama Masjid in the middle of the bazar and residences (4) within the fort; many of the imperial officers (especially Khwajah Abul Hasan) built beautiful mansions and delightful gardens. Just as these mansions were completed, our hard luck brought this marching order upon us!

In the environs of Ghorāghāt, nay more in the entire province of Bengal, there is abundance of game; so much so that if you once ride out to the jungle for hunting, you can before evening bag 10 to 15 *Kuta-pachah* and deer. One can hunt as many game as his arm has strength [to shoot]. In this province there are wild buffaloes, equal in strength to 14 elephants (each) and with horns five or six yards [in expanse]. This buffalo considers a mounted hunter as no more than a bubble of air and never stirs from its position in fear of musket arrow or sword. After [being hit] by these, it charges like an elephant trained to war. But the tigers of

(3) Mughal Orissa began from Medinipur.

(4) The Persian text is corrupt here. We may also read 'wells' (*chāh hā*) instead of 'places' or residences.

this province are inferior to these buffaloes, and before the latter the tiger becomes no better than an (ordinary) buffalo! Very often these buffaloes hunt the tiger.

The rhinoceros, too, abounds in this province and is hunted with muskets. Excellent shields are made of its hide, which arrows and bullets cannot penetrate. In the middle of its head it has a horn which is sent to distant countries as a rarity and gift.

In Ghoraghat the pine-apple grows, very sweet and plentiful. . . It is of the size of the *Khar-buza* (melon). In the jungles of this country are many jack, betel nut, mulberry, banana and mango trees. Each jack tree bears three to four hundred fruits, each as large as a pitcher. The mangoes of this part, unlike those of other countries, contain black worms as large as the gad-fly. The wondrous thing about it is that as soon as the mango fruit appears on the tree, the worm is born within it, and as the fruit grows the worm too goes on growing. No hole appears in the fruit from outside. They say that this evil is due to a curse pronounced by the saint Qutb-i-Alam on a village headman of this region.

The *Kamala* (orange) is a fruit of the species *narangi*, but softer and more juicy, and sweeter than the *narangi*. The Emperor Jahangir likes it very much and tastes it often at the time of drinking *rām rangi*. It is often sent from Bengal to His Majesty.

The Martaban banana of this province is very sweet and tasteful, and superior to that of other places. It even surpasses a little the *sunila* banana of Gujrat.

A kind of *Chmpā* flower is found here, which cannot be met with elsewhere. It is called *Asai Khāni*. It smells of the he-goat and cannot be likened to any other flower; it may probably be related to the *Mulesri* flower.

The hermitage (*astāna*) of Shah Ismail Ghazi is situated outside Ghorāghat. He is said to have come as a soldier from *Vilayet* (Persia) and lived here in the region of Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Bengal like an ordinary householder. When he felt complete repentance through the grace of God, he developed the rest of his life to prayer and austerity. [Here the MS. ends abruptly.]

Goash—midway between the cities of Murshidabad and Jalangi. It is now eight miles south of the Padma. But in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* (Map No. 10), it is placed just a little to the south of the Ganges.

Alaipur—is opposite Sardah, in the Rajshahi district.

Bagha—at the south-eastern corner of the Rajshahi district. The holy founder's family still retain their lands and some old Persian imperial grants, but Arabic learning has departed from the place.

Bajrapur—15 miles from Nator town and four miles south of Shuk-tigacha, in the Rajshahi district. (Rennell, Map 6.)

Shahpur—35 miles s. w. of Ghorāghāt. The river at its foot is called Jabuna = Jamuna (Rennell, Map 5.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

A Judicial Murder.

FEW people have heard or read of Mr. North Naylor, yet his fate excited the deepest pity and indignation at the time among his fellow Exiles in Calcutta, and remains a permanent stigma on the records of the Calcutta High Court.

In February 1779 Mr. George Bogle (of Tibet fame) resigned his position as Commissioner of Law Suits, giving among other reasons that there was no longer any further need for his services in this capacity because of "the able legal assistance which the Company has lately acquired and the knowledge which their present attorney has attained of the different institutions and departments of this Government and the language and customs of the country." "Their present attorney" was a gentleman named Mr. North Naylor, who, on the proposal of the Governor General, was appointed to fill Mr. Bogle's place, under the Direction of the Advocate-General, [Sir John Day] and was "recommended to the Company for inclusion in the list of their covenanted servants." Mr. Naylor obtained the influential support of Warren Hastings because, as the Governor General himself recorded in the minutes (1), he possessed "a knowledge of the language of the country which I consider as an essential requisite in collecting the materials for the Company's suits." The appointment was confirmed on February 26, 1779, and published in a circular letter of that date, Mr. Francis remarking that, in his opinion, Mr. Naylor should discontinue his private practice.

Mr. Naylor gratefully accepted the appointment and expressed his readiness "to engage in no business in the Court but for the Company, or such as he shall be directed to undertake by the Board."

This appointment was made at a time when the relations between the Governor General and his Council and the Supreme Court of Judicature were extremely strained because of the Supreme Court's constant interference in the Revenue Administration. The revenue officers in the mofussil were being paralysed by this interference and the administration was becoming chaotic: no zamindar or ijaradar would pay his dues, confident that the Supreme Court would enable him to evade the jurisdiction and decrees of the local Diwani Adalat.

The Board's Minutes for the early part of 1779 contain almost nothing but protests from the Company's Officers, English and Indian, in the districts, and the Advocate-General was kept extremely busy giving his opinion on the legal issues raised. The risks ran by the Company's servants employed in the Diwani Adalat Courts were considerable, and no less a person

(1) Governor-General's Proceedings—Board of Revenue, Feb. 19, 1779.

than Mr. John Shore, afterwards Governor General of India, formally submitted this aspect of service to the Board, viz., "the dangers that arise from vexatious prosecutions in the Supreme Court of Judicature to which the Superintendent of an Adalat, particularly in Calcutta, is more immediately exposed than any other officer in the Company, and he declined to accept the office of Superintendent of the Adalat. "Since with no motive of self interest to urge, no partial consideration to bias him, he, i.e., the Superintendent is liable to such ruinous consequences" as being cast in heavy damages for doing his duty as an officer of the Company's Civil Courts. This was no idle fear of Mr. Shore's. The bitterness of the Judges of the Supreme Court at this time towards the Executive Government and its Officers may be gauged from the following incident. One Mohan Dutt erected a bazar close to Calcutta which the Board had ordered to be pulled down, but as an action in the Supreme Court was threatened by Mohan Dutt, the opinion of the Advocate-General on the advisability of proceeding against Mohan Dutt was sought. This opinion stated in precise words that from the ill success the Company had experienced in the late trials and the temper the Court had shown, it was but a hopeless business to engage in new law suits which expose the Company to further expense and probably add to the discredit of their Government by decisions against them."

This was a definite legal opinion that the Court was not sufficiently judicial in temper for the Company to hope for a fair hearing, so the action of Mohan Dutt had to be suffered unchallenged. Some idea of the state of affairs in the mofussil may be obtained from an incident that occurred in the Diwani Adalat Court at Murshidabad, of which Court Mr. Edward Otto Ives was the superintendent (a gentleman, incidentally, most undeservedly libelled by Sir Elijah Impey). Here, one Ram Narain broke in to the proceedings of the Court when a case in which his brother was being sued was in process of hearing. He insulted the munsiff trying the case in such foul Bengali abuse that it could not be translated, spoke slightly of the Governor General, whom he called "Hastings-fastings," and the other "topi wallahs," assaulted several Court officers and peons and proclaimed that the High Court would support him. It was at this juncture that the Kasijura case came up. This case is well-known, although not well understood; however, I do not propose to do more than refer to it here as the circumstance out of which arose the case which demands our attention, viz., "Rex *vs.* North Naylor in which the Governor General and members of the Board were summoned by name and individually "in the service of the rule against the said North Naylor." As usual, the Advocate-General's opinion was sought; he advised that Members of Council could not be sued for acts done in their public capacity; fortified with this, the Board resolved (2) "to proceed in their resistance of the illegal acts of the Supreme Court of Judicature" and to enforce and defend their orders. Accordingly the Supreme Court made a victim of the Company's attorney

(2) Gov.-Gen. Proceedings, I, ii, 1780.

Mr. Naylor and in the course of this action against him, Mr. North Naylor was ordered by the Court to disclose certain affidavits. This he refused to do on grounds of professional propriety, feeling confident that the Judges would respect and support his attitude. Mr. Naylor states (I use his own words) that he acted "from the firmest conviction that a disclosure of matters officially confided to me, if expected or sought for, is not only incompatible with the ties of honour and duty which bind me to my employers, but likewise inconsistent with our Laws. I shall strictly persevere in my purpose of refusing to make such answers to my interrogatories as may have that effect The intimation which the Chief Justice has given in open Court that Kasinath has his remedy against the Members of Government for the recovery of his debt furnish alone, I presume, a sufficient argument to justify my silence and creates an additional obligation to observe it, whatever may result from the refusal" In other words Mr. Naylor took up the line that it was essential for the law officers of Government to be faithful in deposition of Government's secrets.

The case was heard by Impey, C. J. and Hyde, J. on January 31, 1780. Mr. Naylor persisted in his refusal, and inspite of the efforts of his Counsell, he was committed to gaol for contempt. The case was heard on the last day of the term, by the direct personal intervention of the Chief Justice; the effect of this was that the attachment moved for implied the imprisonment of Mr. Naylor for the whole vacation in the Common Gaol. The following extract from the proceedings is illuminating.

Defendant's Counsell: "I hope that your Lordship does not mean that Mr. Naylor should answer *"in vinculis,"*

C. J.: "Why not? Mr. Naylor will have more time to think of his conduct and prepare his answers."

Counsell: "It is a bad place for reflection."

In his judgment the Chief Justice said that Mr. Naylor was acting to prevent the execution of the Law, and that, in his opinion and that of his fellow judge, Mr. Naylor's action "was as if a bystander was to object to give evidence because he was spoken to in confidence. It might be disagreeable to him, but the purposes of Justice require it and the Courts would enforce obedience." So much for the Chief Justice's Law, by which the confidential legal officers of the Company were given the alternative of being false to their employers, or disobedient to the Law as interpreted by a vindictive Judicial Bench. How vindictive that Bench was will be seen from the sentence which specifically ordered a gentleman, for the crime of refusing to disclose confidential orders, into the Common Gaol. "Lest the Sheriff" said the Chief Justice "should not understand the mode of confinement on attachment, it is necessary that he should understand that, he must confine his prisoner within the walls of the Gaol . . ."

Mr. Naylor, to his everlasting credit, stood firm and suffered all the horrors of the Common Gaol at that period: no privacy, no sanitation, no consideration for the nature of his alleged offence, no differentiation between him and the vilest criminals. His wife died when he was in prison:

she was known to be in a critical state of health when he was ordered into prison: he himself died, broken in health, but not broken in resolution, shortly after his release.

The Chief Justice's action filled every one with horror and disgust. Mr. Naylor's Counsell described it as "a cruel and unexampled attack on Mr. Naylor." Mr. Naylor in a letter to the Board had described the intention of the Judges as nothing else than "to procure from me a disclosure of your counsells." The Board in a resolution, dated March 9, 1780, declared the action of the Judges to be against "the wise, just, and benevolent spirit of the Law of England." They stated Mr. Naylor to be a confidential officer of Government, and his treatment, in order to make him disclose official secrets, to be "a species of torture of which the Members of this Board have never before heard any instances but in the Courts of Inquisition," which may be inflicted at any moment upon the most innocent and best disposed members of Society." The Board took into consideration that "two months' confinement in this unwholesome climate in the foul air of the Calcutta Gaol would be equal to a direct sentence of death," also the infirm state of Mr. Naylor's health and the severe shock of his wife's death; accordingly they permitted him to disclose the information required by the Court, pointing out that the Chief Justice's remark that Mr. Naylor's imprisonment was intended to be an exemplary punishment was made, and the punishment actually inflicted, before Mr. Naylor's conviction.

If the Judges, in the person of an unscrupulous Chief Justice, could so persecute a British officer of the Company, it can well be imagined the danger to which Indian officers were exposed. Mr. Warren Hastings himself personally went bail for such distinguished officers as Raja Diaram Pandit (a Wakil of the Emperor Shah Alam), Govind Prasad Roy, Sadarul Huq Khan and others to prevent them from suffering at the hands of the High Court the indignity of imprisonment in the Common Gaol. This, as Mr. Rudyard Kipling says, is another story but it enables us to realise that Warren Hastings might well consider no pecuniary inducement too great to offer such a man as Impey, if thereby protection for honourable men in the discharge of their public duty could be assured.

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

Antonio Angelo Tremamondo.

MENTION was made in the Extracts from the Bengal Records which were published in the last issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (ante, pp. 63-65) of an application submitted on January 5, 1779 by Mr. Antonio Angelo Tremamondo for permission to establish a "riding academy" in Calcutta: and it was observed that both the academy and its proprietor had escaped notice in *Calcutta Old and New*. An attempt is therefore made to repair the omission. The following facts regarding Tremamondo and his family which under the name of Angelo, has been represented in the Bengal Army for the last hundred and twenty years, are taken from an article contributed by the Rev. Charles Swynnerton in 1904 to "The Ancestor" (Vol. VIII).

Antonio Angelo Malevolti Tremamondo appears to have been born in Italy about the year 1747 and was brought to England as a boy by his relatives Domenico Angelo and Giovanni (or John) Xavier Tremamondo. Domenico or Dominic, became famous in London as riding and fencing master to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George the Third) and Edward Duke of York: his daughter Sophia was for many years a Dame at Eton, and he died there in 1802 at the age of 86. John Xavier opened an academy of riding and fencing at Edinburgh about the year 1763, and died in that city in 1805 at the age of 84. Another brother Leonardo Maria was refused permission on January 24, 1777, to go out to Bengal to teach riding and fencing: he was then fifty years of age, and was no doubt considered to be too old.

Antonio, who is thought to have been the son of John Xavier, was brought up by Dominic at his house in London: and there, between the years 1764 and 1769, made the acquaintance of Warren Hastings and also of Zoffany who painted his portrait in later years and was always upon the most intimate terms with him. In 1778 Antonio came out to Bengal and must have obtained a commission in the Bengal Army almost immediately after his arrival: for his name appears in a return of the Bengal Army for February 28, 1779. On March 31, 1780, we find that Hastings has appointed him to be "lieutenant in the Governor's troop of bodyguard," which had been raised by Major Swamy Toona in 1773.

From the extracts already printed in *Bengal: Past and Present* we learn that he established his riding academy in Calcutta in January 1779. The venture was at first successful: for on May 30, 1780, he applied for the grant of an additional plot of land to the north of his stables, "not exceeding two biggahs." On July 24 (Bengal Public consultations) it was "Agreed that a space of 80 feet North of Mr. Angelo Tremamondo's stables and running in a parallel line East and West of the East Ditch of the Road leading to the Court House and ending at the Ditch opposite the House formerly occupied by the Commander-in-chief, be granted to him." A few months later—on October 30, 1780—he was appointed "Riding Master to the Army of the

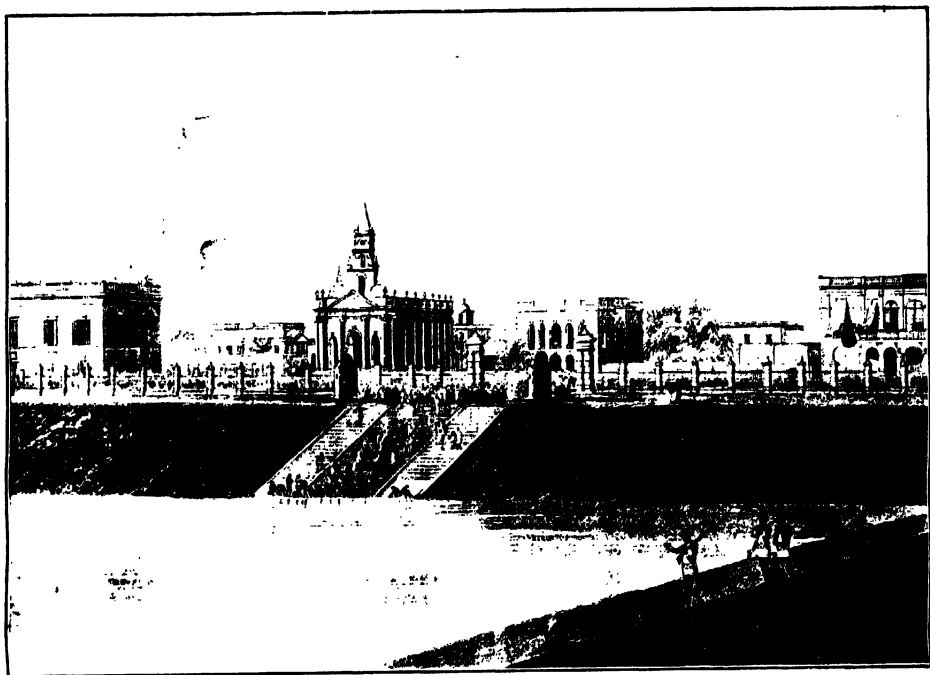
Bengal Presidency " on a monthly salary of Rs. 1,500: and on June 30, 1781, he re-appears as an officer in the Bodyguard and " Riding Master to the Army." From April 30, 1782 to August 1, 1783, he figures in the returns as " Riding Master to the Army " (1). So far all had gone well with him: but on February 12, 1784, he writes that " the Board have found it necessary to annihilate the appointment ": and that his " academy " has fallen on evil days.

For the reference (*ante*, p. 64) to this letter, it is stated that the enterprise failed " for reasons which Tremamondo does not give." This is not the case: the reasons are given at length. " The Novelty of the Institution had ceased, the Exercise was found by some to be too violent for the Climate, many of the Gentlemen most disposed to persevere were obliged to leave Calcutta, others in the Civil Service were prevented from attending by the Duties of their Office, and the junior part of the Army to whom the Art of Riding was a most essential part of Education, were in general unable to bear the Expence." Consequently, " for many months I had only one Pupil, now I have only three." Application was therefore made for a new grant of the land " under the same rent and permission to erect as many Dwelling Houses as I shall think proper." The Board (Hastings, Wheler and Stables) agreed on February 20, 1784 that new pottahs should be granted and that the restrictions as to building should be removed.

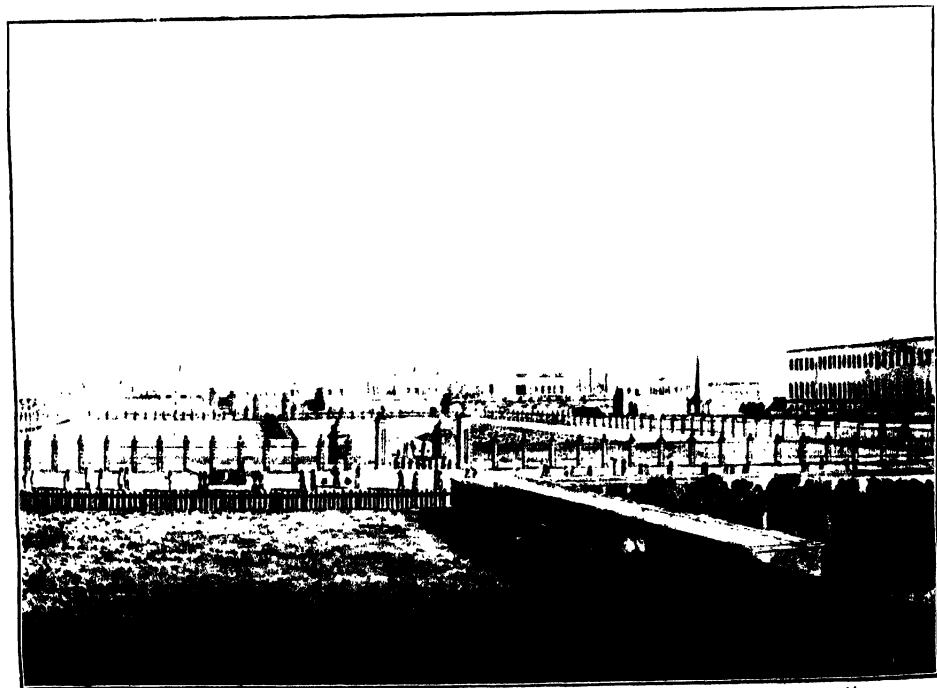
It may be doubted, however, whether any dwelling-houses were, in fact, erected: for in various issues of the *Calcutta Gazette* from May 6 to 27, 1785 the following notice appears: " Private Sale.—All the Ground and Buildings of the Riding School, Calcutta.—Apply to Mr. Angelo Tremamondo." He must have sailed for Europe very shortly afterwards. On July 27, 1787, he married Martha Bland at Old St. Pancras Church in London. His wife who was born in 1767 was the niece of a well-known theatrical couple. Mr. Bland is described in the *Monthly Mirror* for August 1815 as " a good harlequin " and Mrs. Bland as " a performer in old women's parts."

Antonio Tremamondo died in London at his house in Newman Street on October 2, 1829, at the age of 82. Of his six sons, who dropped the surname of Tremamondo and were known as Angelo, the eldest John (1792-1860), the fourth Frederick (1800-1869) and the sixth, Richard (1802-1854) entered the Bengal Army: and their careers are recorded in the first volume of Major Hodson's book. John, who became Lieut.-Colonel of the 8th Light Cavalry, was invalided in 1853 and died at Dehra Dun: Frederick, Major in the 7th Light Cavalry, was invalided in 1841 and died at Octacamund: Richard, Lieut.-Colonel of the 34th Bengal Infantry, died at Lucknow. Their descendants followed them into the Bengal Army: and Frederick's son, Lieut. Frederick Cortlandt Angelo, was murdered in 1857 while endeavouring to escape from Meerut. The second son, Anthony Edward, obtained a writership on the Madras Establishment in 1815 and retired as judge of Chittoor in 1843: he died in London in Fitzroy Square on July 28, 1853. The fifth son, George Richard, died in 1826 at the age

(1) Major Hodson has been good enough to supply these dates.



PART OF THE GREAT TANK CALCUTTA: LOOKING EAST: 1787.
(From Thomas Daniell's Twelve Views of Calcutta.)



VIEW OF TANK SQUARE FROM THE EAST: 1794.
(From William Baillie's Twelve Views of Calcutta.)

of 25. The third son, Warren Hastings Bennet (1797-1832), who seemed destined by his name to seek his fortune in India, preferred a commission in one of the King's regiments and became a Captain in the 8th Hussars. His godmother is described as "Martha Hastings" in the entry from the baptismal register quoted by Mr. Swynnerton, but Mrs. Marian Hastings is evidently the person intended. In any case there is no doubt about his godfathers: these were Warren Hastings and "General Bennet Boyne," who is none other than the famous Benoit de Boigne. Further evidence of the friendship between de Boigne and Antonio Tremamondo is supplied by the fact that the godmother of Frederick Angelo was "Anna Bennet," the daughter of de Boigne by his Persian wife. She was originally known as Banu but was baptized with her brother Ali Bakhsh (Charles) after their father had brought them to Europe and died at Paris in 1810.

THE SITE OF THE "RIDING ACADEMY."

It remains to identify, if possible, the site of the "riding academy" in Calcutta. In his letter of January 5, 1779 (*ante*, p. 65) Antonio Tremamondo asks for "an allotment of two and a half beghas of waste ground opposite the House known as the General's House to the eastward and also that of Mr. Charles Child and abutting in the road to the southward near the wall belonging to Mr. Verelst." The Board, as we have seen, when granting him an additional allotment of 80 feet on July 24, 1780, describe its situation as "North of Mr. Angelo Tremamondo's stables and running in a parallel line East and West of the East Ditch of the Road leading to the Court House and ending at the Ditch opposite the House formerly occupied by the Commander-in-chief."

The "General's House" and "the House formerly occupied by the Commander-in-chief" are one and the same. It is the building now known as 8, Mission Row and was the residence of General Sir John Clavering who was appointed Commander-in-chief on October 27, 1774, and died there on August 30, 1777. His colleague, Colonel the Hon'ble George Monson, and his wife Lady Anne, lived at No. 1: and both houses have been distinguished by tablets. As for Mr. Charles Child's house, the position of this is determined by a letter written to his mother by William Johnson, a Calcutta coach-maker. Shortly before his death on October 8, 1784:—"We have taken up residence again in Calcutta in a house where a club called 'Selby's Club' was once kept, notorious to all gamblers. However, as this may not lead you to the exact spot, it is southwards of the Mission, or old Kiernander's Church, the next house in the same line to General Clavering's, which I know you recollect. To conclude, our house was built by Mr. Charles Child in 1775. It is an amazing large house"(2).

(2) Quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 109: Vol. XXVIII, p. 203. The demolition of the house was recorded in 1915 (Vol. X, p. 168). Charles Child, who was originally a schoolmaster and subsequently an attorney or clerk of the Mayor's Court, died in Calcutta on July 9, 1817 in his hundredth year. He was living in Calcutta at the time of the capture of Fort William by Siraj-ud-daula in 1756, and his name appears in the list of refugees at Fulta.

The "Road leading to the Court House" is the northern end of Old Court House Street, which is now known as Dalhousie Square East, and the "waste ground" was part of the "Company's camar" on untenanted land which formed for many years the eastern boundary of Tank Square and extended from Mangoe Lane to Lall Bazar. In the third of Thomas Daniel's Twelve views of Calcutta, which was published in 1787 and represents "The Great Tank looking towards the East," the Mission Church, which was built by John Zechariah Kiernander in 1770, and the "General's House," are plainly seen behind the bathing-ghat. The reason for this becomes apparent when we examine William Baillie's "view of Tank Square from the East," which was one of the series of Twelve published by him at Calcutta in 1794. Here the foreground is occupied by the *Khamar*, or unoccupied land, which is separated by a low palisade from "the road leading to the Court House"; and on the northern side, in the direction of Writers Buildings (which are on the right of the drawing) a row of godowns is introduced, which may quite possibly be the stables used by Tremamondo.

Another portion of the *Khamar*, of which the area was "one biggah and 16 cottahs" was granted on September 5, 1780, to Charles Weston the benefactor of the poor of Calcutta (whose portrait is preserved in the vestry of St. John's Church), and exactly the same condition was imposed, namely, "that no house wall or other erection of any kind whatsoever shall be built upon the ground except a palisade, fence, or railing." In 1795 Weston sold the plot for Rs. 6,000, with the prohibition attaching to it: and in 1799 it passed to the Barrettos who carried on business as bankers at 25, Mangoe Lane. The restriction was finally removed on May, 8, 1806, by a letter "bearing date, Council-chamber, the same day": and the house which was thereupon built is described in an advertisement of 1829 as "Lately in the occupation of Messieurs Aliport, Ashburner and Company." It became about that time the second home of the Bengal Club (3), which removed in 1845 to Macaulay's house at 33, Chowringhee. Thereafter it entered on a new avatar as "Bodallo's Emporium of Fashion" which was well known in the seventies: and from 1880 until its demolition in 1923 it was equally well known as the business premises of Messrs. Newman and Company, the booksellers.

Mission Row is one of the oldest streets in Calcutta. It was known as the Rope Walk, before the building of Kiernander's Church: and the house at the corner of Lall Bazar stands on the site of the earliest Play House of the Settlement.

The next Riding Academy in Calcutta was in a very different locality—at the corner of Park Street and Chowringhee on the site of the house which was built in 1808 for the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Its proprietor was the Chevalier Antonie Pierre de l'Étang a French émigré, who came to Calcutta

(3) The Bengal Club started its career in July 1827 in a large four-storied house in Esplanade East, known as Gordons Buildings. The site is now occupied by the block of Government offices, of which a portion is allotted to the Imperial Library.

from Pondicherry in 1796. He also carried on a horse repository in Dhurumtollah (nowadays in the hands of Messrs. Cook and Co.) and conducted weekly auction sales. At the time of his death at Buxar in 1840 at the age of 83, he was attached to the Company's stud at that place. His widow died at Versailles in 1866 at the age of 98: and two of his daughters were married to civilians—Adeline to James Pattle at Berhampore on February 18, 1811, and Julie to Edward Impey at Calcutta on October 1, 1813. Eugene, his only son, who was born at Pulta, near Barrackpore in 1803, died at Buxar in 1829: he was an ensign in the Bengal Army at the time and was assisting his father at the stud.

EVAN COTTON.

Two Forgotten Mutiny Heroes.

IN the course of his official tour, Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., I.E.S., O.B.E., C.I.E., the Director of Public Instruction of Bihar and Orissa, saw the graveyard at Chatra in the district of Hazaribagh (Chotanagpore), where were buried 56 men of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment of Foot and a party of Sikhs on October 2, 1857 in action against mutineers of the Ramgarh battalion. There is no inscription at all in the graveyard and Mr. Fawcus requested me whether any light could be thrown on the question. He also drew my attention to the Hazaribagh District Gazetteer, p. 172 where occurs the following:—

"In the course of the Mutiny Chatra was the scene of a small but locally important engagement between the rebels and the British troops. The Ramgarh Battalion had mutinied at Hazaribagh and Ranchi, and though the Sepoys had received very little local support they were strong enough to compel the retirement of the Government officials, and for two months they were masters of the situation. They then decided to leave the province by way of Chatra and join Kuar Singh at Bhojpur. At Chatra they were attacked by a mixed force consisting of a portion of the 53rd Regiment of British troops, and a detachment of Rattray's Sikhs, numbering in all 320 men. Apparently they were to some extent surprised; but they took up a strong position on the brow of a hill, and resisted stubbornly; for in the orders conferring on them the Victoria Cross, Lieutenant J. C. C. Daunt of the 70th Bengal Native Infantry and Sergeant Dynen of the 53rd Foot are stated to have acted with Conspicuous gallantry in capturing two guns by pistolling the gunners, who were mowing down the detachment with grape! The rebels lost 150 men killed, and all their guns and ammunition; and those who scattered and escaped ceased to be a military force. There is a graveyard in Chatra where are buried the Europeans who were killed in this fight."

I lost no time in availing myself of the offer to elucidate the facts and immediately sought the advice of my friend, Mr. A. F. M. Abul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., the worthy Keeper of the Imperial Records and in the course of our investigation we came across with the three following documents:

A.

No. 83-8.

Message received by Electric Telegraph from Sherghatty, Saturday 3rd October, 9.23 p.m. from Lieutt Stanton

To Calcutta

To Secretary to the Government of India.

Following message received from Major English at Chuttra. I had a severe engagement yesterday with the Ramghur Battalion, defeated them,

taken four guns complete and forty-five cart loads of ammunition. I have had forty-five men killed, and wounded, and am not strong enough to escort what I have through the Jungles surrounding me. Filled as they are with disbanded sepoys, and plunderers I take upon myself to order you to send me one hundred men if possible. Telegraph to Calcutta when you have done so. With reference to the above I have only twenty five Sikhs here. Shall I detain a detachment of Europeans and march on Chuttra to assist in bringing in the ammunition?

Sd/- L. E. W. O'Brien,
3rd Assist in Charge

Calcutta,
Elect. Tele. Office,
The 4th of October/25,
Despd. 8/25.

B.

No. 89.

Message received by Electric Telegraph from Chuttra via Burhee 4th October 9 a.m. from Major English.

To Calcutta
To General Mansfield

I came upon the Ramghur Mutineers at nine o'clock this morning, encamped on the West side of the Town after the enemy, their Guns are captured and their whole camp. We have taken four Guns and Waggon complete, ten elephants and much ammunition. Our loss is severe, thirty-six of Her Majesty's 53d and 6 of the Sikhs killed and wounded, all officers are safe, the Men and officers behaved nobly.

Sd/- L. E. W. O'Brien,
3rd Assist in Charge.

Calcutta,
E. T. Office,
4th October, 1857,
9/p.m.

Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department.

C.

No. 152.

Message received by Electric Telegraph from Chuttra, via Burhee, 7th October, 8/30 a.m.

From Major English

To Calcutta

To General Mansfield

I have moved my camp to the east of the Town on a fine open plain. Major Simpson buried seventy-seven of the enemy yesterday, and reports that above one hundred are lying wounded in the Jungles and that the

mutineers have dispersed. Two Subadars were brought in yesterday and hanged this morning. For the sake of the wounded I shall return to Hazaribagh by easy marches. The road is through Jungles in many places and my party very weak to escort the line of the wounded, carts, Guns and Waggon. One hundred men would be great assistance, the Guns will have to be dragged across many swamps and the road is very difficult; send me without delay Hospital bedding and clothing for thirty men, hospital comforts and two casks of Rum, some treasure has been given over to Major Simpson.

Sd/- L. E. W. O'Brien,
Pro Head Assistant in Charge.

Calcutta,
E. T. Office,
7th October, 1857.

The Imperial Record Department archives also gave us the information that the following men belonging to Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment were killed during the action at Chatra on the 3rd October, 1857, viz.—

1. Private William Cullen.
2. „ Patrick Burke.
3. „ John McAndrew.

Privates James Ryan and William Ashton subsequently died of their wounds.

The paper in the Commissioner's office which is given below gives us a vivid account of the engagement, while the attached plan places before us the plan of the battle, though the position of the 2nd gun of the Mutineers has not been shown. The Commissioner's office paper, however, does not mention the heroism of the winners of the Victoria Crosses which we gather from Philip A Wilkins' *The History of the Victoria Cross*, London, 1904 and which is as follows:—

John Charles Campbell Daunt.

(Lieutenant, afterwards Lieut-Colonel)

11th (late 70th) Bengal Native Infantry.

Decorated for conspicuous courage at Chatra, Bihar, on October 2, 1857, when in action against the mutineers of the Ramgurnh Battalion one-third of the detachment had been mown down by grape-shot from two guns, when Daunt, in company with Dennis Dyon (V.C.) charged at the gunners, shot them down and captured both pieces.

Lieutenant Daunt was also specially mentioned for his gallantry on November 2, 1857, when he pursued the mutineers of the 32nd Bengal Native Infantry. Driving them across a plain into a thick cultivation, he, with a small party of Rattray's Sikhs, followed and attacked them, being himself dangerously wounded in the struggle. The mutineers greatly outnumbered Daunt's little force, and the ultimate preservation of any of the Sikhs was due to his courageous conduct and skilful leading.

Dennis-Dynon.

(Sergeant)

53rd Regiment.

Associated with Lieutenant J. C. C. Daunt V.C., in heroically dashing at and capturing two guns from the Mutineers of the Ramgurh Battalion on October 2, 1857, at Chatra, Bihar.

Copy of the paper from the Patna Commissioner's Office.

From—Hazaribagh district (old correspondence), 1856-57, Vol. VII (spare copy).

To—Captain E. F. Dalton,
Offg. Commissioner, Chota Nagpur.

Sir,

My demi-official notes of the 30th, 1st and 2nd instant will have informed you of the advance of the force under Major English on Chittara and the defeat of the mutineers Ramgurh Battalion with detail of artillery and capture of 4 six pounder guns on the 2nd of this month.

2. The mutineers had taken up a strong position on the West of Chutra with the whole of the city on their East, the narrow streets of which could not be passed through without endangering our small force. The road leading to the town is over a bridge and to the north of the bridge is one succession of deep rice fields which it would have been difficult to pass with rapidity. After Major Smyth had drawn up a rough plan of the town and approach, it was determined by Major English to make the attack rounding the south of the city and coming opposite the position of the mutineers at the old jail, etc.

3. On the advanced guard passing west of the jail, the main body of the mutineers were discovered on the heights and skirmishers were immediately sent off by Major English to the north across a narrow belt of rice ground, and soon got into action with the rebels. The first Enfield rifle ball discharged at a distance of 900 yards, it was supposed, took effect and was immediately followed by round shot from the enemy fired in the direction of our approach. But as the main party of the Europeans and Sikhs had nearly crossed the rice ground marked A when the guns opened, providentially the fire did not do much harm. One ball, however, shot dead the horse, an assistant apothecary attached to the Europeans was riding, when the owner a mere lad proceeded on foot manfully with the advancing column.

4. The Europeans on crossing the rice ground, went by the east of the village of Kullotea, and Lieut-Earle Commanding the Sikhs with myself and a party of men proceeded through the hamlet which brought us in proximity to the position of the mutineers and on emerging from the lane of the village we found the Europeans hotly engaged with the rebels at

the tops of trees marked B and on looking towards the old jail I observed a considerable number of the mutineers rushing up in skirmishing order and advancing on the rear of our attacking party. The attention of the Sikhs was immediately directed to this threatened danger, and taking up a position in the grove we fired steadily upon the enemy, killing and wounding some amongst the former, a Jamadar with a blue coat whose body I found the following morning with a sepoy at the spot I saw them when aimed at.

5. After the main party of the Sikhs had beaten off this attack from the south-east, they joined the attack on the two remaining guns which were pouring grape shot, etc., upon us as we passed through the grove. It was there many of the Europeans and some of the Sikhs fell and it was not until the determined intrepidity of Lieut. Daunt, who by a rush on the left flank of the remaining gun, captured it, that the mutineers discontinued to serve it, as after many of their party must have been killed and wounded by Enfield rifles, yet the shot of this gun was still directed at our advancing party within the grove, and every ground was tearing away the branches or ploughing up the ground in our vicinity, and had there not been the trees to afford partial cover to the men, the loss on our side must have been much greater.

Our killed and wounded aggregate 56 men, 46 Europeans and 10 Sikhs; of these the wounds of some of the Europeans are very severe, four of them having undergone amputation.

6. The conduct of the troops under Major English in the battle on the 2nd instant was beyond all praise, the cool intrepidity of the detachment Her Majesty's 53rd with every officer attached to it well seconded in the attack by the Sikhs under Lieut. Earle, and the excellent arrangements of Major English and his staff rendered success certain, and although it has been achieved at considerable loss, yet the object gained has been great and I trust will ensure the speedy tranquility of the whole of the province of Bihar, if not add considerably to the security of the country from the Sone to Calcutta.

We changed our camp this morning from the west of the town to this place, which is two miles off, in consequence of the offensive smell in the vicinity of camp where the engagement took place. There were 77 bodies of the mutineers buried in one pit on the 3rd instant and the number of wounded must have been very large. Several of the wounded and absconded, both native officers and men, have been apprehended and brought in by the rural police and villagers since the battle, and numbers of the mutineers have abandoned and thrown away their arms which have been picked up and brought unto me.

7. Jai Mangal Pandey and Nadir Ali, Subadars of the Battalion both present in the engagement of the 2nd (the latter wounded) were taken in the jungle and brought to me on the 3rd. These two principal mutineers were tried under the provisions of Act XVII of 1857 and sentence of death, passed upon them by my court in my capacity of Commissioner under the above law, was duly carried into effect this morning on the very ground

where they had made such an obstinate resistance to the British troops two days previously. The confessions of these men recorded in detail are valuable and copies will be forwarded for the use of your office. From these it would appear that several of the Jagirdars, Lalls, or relations of the Raja of Chota Nagpur were cognizant, if not implicated in the proceedings of the mutinous sepoys. One of them, the Lal of Sulges Jagatpal Singh in particular, appears to be a son-in-law of Kooar Singh and to have held correspondence with that individual who would seem to me to have deputed 8 of the sepoys of the 2 companies 8th Regiment Native Infantry (who mutinied at Hazaribagh) to attend upon the Lall and to keep up the excitement and spirit of rebellion already engendered in the Ramgarh Light Infantry by the machinations of the Jemadar Nadho Singh.

8. One of these men of the 8th I am led to believe was shot in the engagement of the 2nd. The mutineers had entertained a number of recruits, men from Bhojpur, Mugga or Bihar, and other parts, as also some discharged sepoys, and were actually teaching these with blank cartridge, the morning we approached Chuttra. Their ignorance or want of belief in our approach was most fatal to them as a party was actually plundering in the town at the time we were rounding the southern extremity of the city and within two gun shots of us. Those men could have scarcely rejoined the main body before we attacked them and only knew of our approach from the top of a house, into the upper story of which they had proceeded for the purpose of looting the owner's property.

9. The Jemadar Madho Singh, I fear, has escaped. Some say he went with a detachment into the town either to look out for our advance, or with some other object—may be plunder. Bhola Singh Burail of Chorea seems to have been a zealous coadjutor of the mutineers in plundering the mahajans of the town, and was killed by the people of the place with several sepoys on our attack.

10. The Thakur Bishwanath Singh with Ganpat Roy, former dewan of the Nagpur Raja, seem to have fled in the commencement of the fight; the Thakur's palanquin was brought in to me the following day from the jungle; two servants of the Barkagrah Thakurs have also been apprehended, and are forwarded to the Senior Asstt. Commissioner, Lohadz, for investigation into their case.

11. The amount of ammunition recovered has been very large, so much so as to excite suspicions that ammunition from other quarters may have been under charge of the mutineers. I would strongly recommend enquiry to be made as to what ammunition was actually in store at Doranda when the mutiny broke out.

12. I have placed my seal on five boxes containing or supposed to contain treasure, two of those with Chub locks for want of keys we have been unable to open. In the other boxes there was found a good deal of small coins, pie, pice, etc. etc., some rupees; also a chest of opium, all which I imagine must have belonged to the Lohardaga treasury.

(I observed an office seal in one of the boxes), and on reaching Hazaribagh I will have the whole carefully examined and duly brought to the credit of Government.

13. I have sent on a party in advance to prepare the road to Hazaribagh for the guns, etc., etc., we have captured, and Major English proposes to reach that station by easy marches as soon as possible to get the wounded under shelter.

14. I would have submitted this report earlier but as you may suppose under the circumstances detailed, have had little time to myself. Since the engagement the providing several requisites for about 50 wounded is no trifling task, and the means of moving them from a place which has been plundered and rifled by a mutinous battalion is no easy matter. However I trust our efforts will result in the admission of Government that we have all endeavoured to do our duty.

15. I annex a small sketch map of Chuttra and the position of the mutineers which will elucidate and explain the first portion of this communication.

I have the honour to be etc.,

Sd/- J. Simpson,

Principal Asst Commr of Hazaribagh.

Princl. Asst. Commr's Office,
Hazaribagh Division,
Camp Kalapahari near Chitra,
The 4th October 1857.

Such in short is the plain and unvarnished history of two soldiers who sacrificed their lives for their king and country. No comments are necessary, no remarks are needed, but to them are very well applicable the pregnant words of Gray:—

“Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,

And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”

My object in bringing the above little facts to the notice of the learned historians assembled here and through them to the authorities concerned is that proper and systematic arrangement may be made so that proper tombstones may be erected and placed to perpetuate the memories of such heroes who for their king and country sacrificed themselves on the fields of glory.

J. N. SAMADDAR,

Prince Akbar and the Portuguese.

(From unpublished Portuguese letters of viceroy Francisco de Tavora,
preserved in the government archives at Pangim.)

THE biography of Prince Muhammad Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzib, has still to be studied by the light of historical documents. One of its chapters is connected with his relations with the Portuguese, the chief source of which, hitherto generally followed, is the work of the famous traveller Manucci (1), though quite deficient in this respect.

The first relations of the Portuguese with the Prince above referred to, date from the middle of January 1683, at which time Akbar being in the port of Banda, in the neighbourhood of Goa, sent an envoy to the viceroy Francisco de Tavora, who received him in the fort of the city of Goa on the evening of 17th January, 1683 (2). Through this envoy, Akbar gave to the viceroy the news of his quarrel with Sambhaji and asked him permission to sell some jewels in Goa (3). From this can be gathered that the Mughal Prince decided to leave Maharashtra, on account of his quarrel with the Maratha monarch, in the beginning of the year 1683 and not some month after, as Orme (4) and J. Sarkar (5) suppose.

The letter which the viceroy wrote to Prince Akbar, in reply, bears the date of 19th January, 1683 and reads thus: "...I received the letter of your Highness, and same afforded me great delight, apart the displeasure that caused me the news your ambassador gave me of your having undergone troubles and sufferings, and heard the proposals which were made to me, on your behalf on various affairs, to which I consented with good will, in the manner he will tell your Highness, and in every thing that is related to your Highness you will find me equally in agreement ..." (6).

(1) We discovered recently in the archives of the government at Pangim the record of a charter by which the Portuguese viceroy granted to Manucci the habit of the order of San Tiago, of which the Italian traveller speaks in the Vol. II, page 281, of his *Storia do Mogor* (vide *Livro de Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* no. 62 ff). In the same archives are the records of two important letters addressed by the viceroy to the Italian traveller in November 1684 (cf. *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no. 2, ffs 40-40v).

(2) *Reis Visinhos* no. 2, ff 26v; *Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* no. 67, ff.....Prof. J. Sarkar (*Hist. Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 285) says that Akbar sent an envoy from Vingurla but this is not true (Cf *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no. 2, ff 29v, in which is recorded a letter of the viceroy to Yakut Khan dated 10-4-1683 in which it is said: ".....Prince Akbar having gone away discontented from the presence of Sambhaji for not having kept the promise he had made, came to the port of Banda, from where he sent me his ambassador . . .").

(3) *Livro das Manções* no. 47, ff 242.

(4) Orme, *Historical Fragments*, 1905, page 158.

(5) J. Sarkar, *Hist. Aurangzib*, IV, page 284.

(6) *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no. 2, ff 26V.

The good will which the viceroy had promised to Prince Akbar was of short duration, for the ambassador of Aurangzib named Shek Muhammad arrived in Goa on the 20th January (7), and on account of his stay in Goa (8) the viceroy had to follow a different line of politics towards the Mughal Prince. However, Akbar having informed the viceroy that he wished to go to the kingdom of Kanara and thence to Mecca or other ports of the straits, the viceroy ordered to be given to him, at his request, on the 13th February 1683, five passports for five ships in which he had determined to start on a voyage with his people (9). One letter of the viceroy, written on the 16th February, 1683, to Akbar, who was still residing in the port of Banda, gives some pertinent details (10):—"I received the letter of your Highness, with great joy, having good news about you, and I highly appreciated the *canjer*, decked with precious stones, which you sent me as present and still more because it was an article which your Highness carried on your girdle, and also to show your Highness my esteem and good will, I send with your ambassador Abdool Rahim Khan what is mentioned in the list, which goes with this, and your Highness must have already learned, through the same ambassador, what I replied to the proposals he made me on your behalf, regarding the sale of the precious stones, which I ordered to be sold, as well as regarding to writing to the Factor of Mangalore, about securing the ships that may be necessary to your Highness, to voyage in them with your people, and also to the Queen of the kingdom of Kanara to (give) to your Highness, through my recommendation, all the help that you may ask her, which I expect she will do owing to the peace, friendship and dependence which she has with this state; and at once I ordered to fit out at the cost of the Treasury a *paro* from Panjim, in which I shall send a person with these letters and it has not already started because it is waiting for the two persons which the ambassador told me would go in the same *paro* on behalf of your Highness with orders to engage the ships referred to; and as soon as they arrive, the *paro* will start."

The rumours of help, which the viceroy promised the unhappy Prince, must have reached the ears of the ambassador Shek Muhammad, who informed about it some Mughal generals, so much so that one of them, Sidy Yakut Khan, wrote to the viceroy asking not to help but on the contrary to capture Prince Akbar. Manucci (11) says that it was Aurangzib, who, through his ambassador Shek Muhammad, wrote to the viceroy asking him to refuse any kind of help to the Prince and to capture him or kill him.

(7) *Livro de Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* no. 67, fl.....; *Livro das Monçõ* no. 47, fl 242. In a Portuguese MS preserved in Biblioteca Nacional de Lisbon another date is given but we prefer that of the official documents (Cf. *Relação verdadeira do que succedeo no Estado da India desde 2 de Janeiro de 1683 até 25 de Janeiro de 1684*).

(8) Shek Muhamad remained in Goa till the middle of April 1683 (see *Livro de Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* no. 68 fl.....; *Reis Visinhos* no. 2, fl 32).

(9) *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no. 2, fl 28.

(10) *Idem*, fl 34.

(11) *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, page 260.

But this assertion of the Italian traveller is not true, for the letter to which Manucci refers is dated 20th June, 1682 (12), when Prince Akbar was away from Goa. Besides this, the same viceroy wrote to Aurangzib on the 12th April, 1683: "When the ambassador of your Majesty came here, he found in this city another who was sent to me by Prince Muhammad Akbar, son of your Majesty, who is in this vicinity, in the port of Banda, land of the unfaithful, and of his presence he distrusted for not keeping the promises he had made; and of his presence the ambassador of your Highness must have given information to your generals, which gave origin to a letter of the chief captain of the Navy, Yakut Khan, asking me not to show favour or give help to the said Prince Akbar, for he has revolted, and after coming to this State to imprison him; and about the same Prince, Lutf-ullah Khan, favourite (valido) of your Majesty, and general Bahadur Khan wrote to the ambassador Shek Muhammad to signify, on behalf of your Majesty, the displeasure which this prince has caused you and Lutf-ullah Khan says in his letter that he had thirty ships in this port of Goa and ten in that of Rajapur, lands of Sambhaji, to go in them by sea to any place; however these news were false because the said Prince has no such ships, on the contrary, is so poor and in necessity that he sent his jewels for sale in order to support himself, as will inform your Majesty your ambassador, and your Majesty must not take amiss my accepting what he sent to me, but must even thank me for doing so, being a son of your Majesty, and it does not become the generosity and spirit of the Portuguese to be wanting in courtesy due to the princes, and much less to imprison (13) them or any vassals who seek for shelter; and though your Majesty is justly sorry and angry for his wanting in obedience to you, still the fatherly heart and the love of a son, cannot but lead your Majesty to pardon him, and reinstate him in your favour, especially as there are so many qualities in the said prince as are known to all, so that your Majesty will have another general of so great valour, to conquer and win your enemies, and it will be a praiseworthy action of all the kings and princes of the world to admit in the service of your Majesty this son, and when it may be necessary for my authority to intervene in this re-union, with the advice of your Majesty, to do him a good turn I shall persuade him, if possible, that he may come round to this agreement which will be good to all" (14).

One finds from a letter of the viceroy, addressed on the 16th April, 1683 to Yakut Khan, chief captain (capitao-mor) of Aurangzib's Navy, that this Captain had written to the viceroy saying that he was with his fleet in the port of Rajapur, to capture Prince Akbar, who had determined to go from Banda to Bicholim, in order to engage some ships in the city of Goa to fly by the sea to some other places (14a). It seems that about

(12) *Reis Visinhos* no. 2, fl 31.

(13) It is convenient to note that from the Mughal government there was the request only to capture and not kill the Prince, contrary to what Manuchy (*Storia*, Vol. II, p. 260) writes.

(14) *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no. 2, fl 31.

(14a) *Idem*, fl 34v.

September 1683, Akbar fixed his residence at Bicholim, as can be seen from the English records (15).

It appears that the Mughal Prince changed his mind about going to Kanara, probably with the fear that he might be caught in the sea by the Imperial fleet. And on account of this, he asked the viceroy the State frigates to go in them to Mecca directly, but the viceroy refused this request. Regarding this fact, a letter from the viceroy written to the ambassador Sheik Muhammad on the 23rd October, 1683, reads thus: "Prince Akbar seeing that I refused to give him frigates of the State, which he was asking me in order to go to Mecca thought of buying a ship for his voyage, and with all secrecy succeeded to do so, through a Moor named Muhammad Khan, who after having left Goa with this view in a ship of small dimensions, saying that he was going to Surat, I learned that the Moor, above referred to, had sent it to the port of Banda or that of Rajapur to receive in it the Prince, who has such a good head that he was thinking to risk his life in such a small ship above mentioned, but he was mistaken, because as I hear, after seeing it he changed his intention, for they tell me he is coming back to this neighbourhood whence he had gone to that of Shiva; I shall proceed rigorously with this Moor if found, for he has already fled fearing already for the defiance with which without my permission he bought and sold this ship..." (16).

Some days before the 23rd November, 1683, Akbar embarked in a ship "forced by the unreasonable attitude of Sambhaji, for after taking away from him a part of the jewels and precious stones, he broke his promise of giving him large sums of money and help with men and cavalry to march against Aurangzib, and on account of this he resolved to leave his territory and buy a ship to go to the sea, but did not succeed to go on the voyage because having embarked from Vingurla, Cavi Calegi, a favourite of Sambhaji, arrived from Rajapur and sent him a message as from Sambhaji not to go away but to come back to land, as his master had agreed to keep his word and wanted him to help personally to defend the army of the king and after victory he could go with greater safety, and with a greater army wherever he wanted, without risking himself in the sea; and one can understand that under this persuasion he disembarked and remained on land, and sent the ship with a message somewhere (17)..."

On the night of 24th November, 1683, Sambhaji took the Portuguese island of S. Estevao and on the 25th defeated the viceroy who had gone to fight him in that island. On the 26th the Maratha monarch evacuated the island, (18) and two days after (19) this occurrence, Sambhaji feigning

(15) Vide Prof. J. Sarkar, *Hist. Aurang*, IV, pp. 284-5. Prof. Sarkar confounds Dicholey or Bicholi with Dapoli. Bicholim now in Portuguese territory.

(16) *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no. 2, fl 37v.

(17) *Idem*, fl 38v.

(18) *Relacao verdadeira do que succedeo no Estado da India.....*(MS. in Public Library of Lisbon).

(19) *Livro das Moncoes* no 48, fl 181.

that Prince Akbar, who was in his company, wanted to be a mediator of peace, sent an envoy to speak to the viceroy about it, but as this envoy was not bringing any credentials about him, he was not received by the viceroy. This envoy was named Ray Kirtising and was sent to Goa on the 29th November (20).

The war between the Portuguese and the Marathas continued however, more furiously, the Portuguese having been completely defeated (21), so much so that the preservation of the Portuguese territory of Goa was attributed to the miraculous intervention of Saint Francis Xavier (22). This war terminated with a treaty of peace. Neither Manucci nor Akbar, nor Orme, nor Duff nor Sardesai nor Parasnis refer to it. Duff says (23): "the viceroy made overtures for peace, but as Sambhajee demanded five crores of pagodas as a preliminary, they were at once broken off." Almost all investigators of Indian history have followed Duff's assertion, except Prof. J. N. Sarkar, who incidentally refers to the above mentioned treaty of peace.

Among the Maratha sources, only *Zedhe yanchi shakavali* (24) says that on the 7th January, 1684, "Kavi Kalash taking Akbar with himself went to the forest of Bhimgad and made peace with the Firangis (Portuguese)." This information of *Zedhe Chronology* is corroborated by the Portuguese sources, as in some documents of the archives of the Governor's Palace at Pangim, it is clearly said that the Portuguese envoy Manuel Saraiva de Albuquerque realized the mentioned treaty of peace in the presence of Akbar (25).

In the meeting which was held by the Council of State (*Junta de Tres Estados*) on the 13th March, 1684, the viceroy said (26), "and though Sambhaji asked for peace through Prince Sultan Akbar, who is in his territory, empowering him and his ministers to conclude an agreement with the envoy Manuel Saravia de Albuquerque, who had gone, on behalf of the State to Phonda to deal with this agreement and had ordered his army to retire from the lands of Salsette and Bardez, still it cannot be expected that there is in this firmness nor certainty, because the said Sambhaji did this forced by the power of the army of the Mughal king who had come to attack him." The minister of Sambhaji referred to in this excerpt is certainly the above mentioned Kavi Kalash (27).

(20) *Reis Visinhos* no 2, fl. 40.

(21) Cf. J. Sarkar, *Hist. Aurang*, IV pp. It was only after this war that the viceroy called Sambhaji by the title of *Chatrapati*; he gave to the Maratha envoy the honours of an ambassador and resolved to change his capital—the historic old city—to the island of Marmagao, the latter being more easily capable of being defended than the former. (See *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no 2, fls 40v and 41; Biker *Collecção dos Tratados da India*, Vol. V, page 13; Cf. Rivara, in *Chronista do Tissuary*, Vol. I.

(22) Cf. Francisco de Sousa, *O Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo*, P. I. Conq. IV, Div. I, §108 (ed. 1710) F. N. Xavier, *Resumo historico de S. Francisco Xavier*, 1881, p. 262.

(23) Duff, *Hist. Mahrattas*, Vol. I, p. 256 (ed. 1912).

(24) See *Shivaji Souvenir*, page 28; *Shiva Charitra Pradipta*, page 33.

(25) Viceroy's letter to Prince Akbar dated 8-2-1684 (*Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no. 2, fl 40v.)

(26) *Livro de Assentos*, 1877-1898, fl 151.

(27) *Livro dos Reis Visinhos* no 2, fl 41.

According to the *Zedhe Chronology* peace was made in the forest of Bhimgad, but the Portuguese document above referred to, says that the agreement was concluded at Phonda. It is to be supposed that the preliminaries of the treaty of peace were made at Bhimgad on the 7th January (28), but same was definitely fixed at Phonda at a later date, between the 25th of January (29) and 4th of February (30). The reason why the treaty was not concluded at Bhimgad was that near the place was the powerful army of Shah Alam, who had already arrived at Bicholim on the 15th January, 1684 (31). At Phonda there was at this time more security than at Bhimgad.

In the *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo*, published in Lisbon in 1910, one finds that on the 3rd January, 1684, Sambhaji sent to Goa four envoys to ask for peace and to settle it, three days after. Manuel Saraiva de Albuquerque, the Portuguese envoy, passed to the other side, that is to the side of Bhimgad, and then hostilities ceased (32). This information of the Jesuit priest agrees with that of *Zedhe Chronology*.

The text of the treaty is lost. In the archives of the Government of Nova-Goa, there are the original texts of various treaties in the books called *Tratados* (Treaties) but that of Sambhaji is not found. Cunha Rivara (33) and F. N. Xavier (34), who passed a considerable part of their lives in the archives of Goa, did not know that such a treaty was even realized.

Recently, we were lucky to find in a worm-eaten book of the same archives the records of the following letter written by the viceroy to Joao de Sequeira de Faria, Governor of the North, on the 4th February, 1684, which gives an idea of the lost treaty:—"By the four ships that came from the North and went away *some days* back, I wrote to you giving news that peace was concluded between this State and Sambhaji Raze Chatrapaty, of which Prince Akbar was the intermediary...in which it was agreed that Sambhaji Raze would return all the lands, fortresses and forts which he captured from this State, with artillery, arms and all the vessels with their goods, which before and after the war his ministers and *subhedaras* had caught and that in the same way return should be made by us of the ships of his vassals, and liberty should be given to the prisoners of both the States, and that to Sambhaji should be paid the *gaocandil* (gaonkhandi) of the

(28) Cf. *O Oriente Conquistado and Relacao verdadeira do que succedeo no Estado da India*.

(29) In the letter of the viceroy to the king of Portugal written on the 25th Jan. 1684 it is said "In continuation of the treaty of peace which has not yet been concluded" (*Livro das Moncoes*, no 48, fls 185-6).

(30) *Livro das Cartas Patentes e Alvaras* no 68, fl.

(31) See *Relacao verdadeira do que succedeo no Estado da India*. According to the MS. of Ishwardas, at Bicholim were sacked Sambhaji and Akbar's palaces. The distinguished historian J. N. Sarkar confounds Bicholim with Vingurla but the description of Ishwardas is applicable only to Bicholim. (See *Hist. Aurang*, IV, p. 291 and my article on Sambhaji published in *Boletim do Instituto Vaso da Gama*, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3).

(32) *O Oriente Conquistado* P. I, conq. IV, div. I, §108.

(33) C. Rivara, *Tratados da India*, in *Boletim do Governo da India* de 1873-5.

(34) F. N. Xavier, *Instrucoes do Marques de Alorna ao Sen successor*, 1903, page 16, note 25.

jurisdiction of Bacain, and the *chouto* (chauth) of the jurisdiction of Damaum, in the same manner as it was paid to King Choutia, with the obligation that he (Sambhaji) should defend the (Portuguese) territory and that friendship and commerce should go on freely as before, the passages being opened for the vassals to pass from one side to the other, with their goods and merchandise without any impediment, and that we should not consent that within the range of the artillery of our forts and fortresses should pass ships with materials to the Mughal king and that there was no stipulation when they passed along the places where there was no artillery " (35).

From other state-papers of Goa, it is known that there was in this treaty a clause, pardoning the *Desais* of the lands of Sambhaji, who having joined the Mughals or Portuguese lived in banishment at Goa (36). Another Clause of the same treaty was that Sambhaji could not build any kind of a fort on the borders of the Portuguese territory (37).

It is necessary to say that Choutia was the king of the hills of Assarceta and the lands of Ramanagar, who, from ancient times (38), collected from the Portuguese Jurisdiction of Daman the tribute of *chouts*. After the annexation of a good part of the territory of Choutia, Sambhaji had demanded from the Portuguese in 1682 the *chouto* which was paid to the king of Ramanagar; but the Portuguese replied that they would pay it if he become the master of that whole kingdom (39). This *chouto* is not however like the chauth or "one fourth of the estimated revenue" (40) for the *chouts* which was paid to the King Choutia at this time and which the Portuguese would agree to pay to Sambhaji was of certain villages regulated at 17 per cent., of others at 14 per cent., and of others at 12½ per cent. (41).

With Shah Alam's invasion of S. Konkan, Akbar retired from the vicinity of Goa but in the archives of Panjim there is a record of a letter addressed to him by the viceroy in March 1696 in reply to that of Mughal Prince (42).

PANDURANGA PISSURLENCAR,

(35) *Livro das Cartas Patentes e Alvara's* no 68, fl.

(36) See the letter of viceroy to Narahari Pandit, dated 26-3-1684 (*Reis Visinhos* no 2, fl 46.

(37) See the letter of viceroy to Kavi Kalax, dated 23-2-1684 (*Reis Visinhos* no 2, fl 41.)

(38) See my book *Portugueses e Maratas*, I, pp. 40-50.

(39) See *Livro dos Moncoes* no 47, fl 158v.

(40) G. S. Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, 1926, page 76.

(41) *Livro das Moncoes* no 47, fl 160.

(42) *Livro dos Rein Visinhos* no 3, fl 33.

Our Library Table.

Soldiering in India, 1764-1787: Extracts from Journals and Letters left by Lt.-Colonel Allan Macpherson and Lt.-Colonel John Macpherson of the East India Company's Service: edited by W. C. Macpherson, C.S.I.
(Blackwood: Fifteen shillings net.)

Mr. W. C. Macpherson, the editor of these interesting papers, retired in 1911 as a member of the Board of Revenue, after thirty-four years' service in Bengal. His great grandfather, Colonel Allan Macpherson, joined the military service of the Company in Bengal in 1764 and sailed from the Sandheads at the end of January, 1787. The estate of Blairgowrie in Perthshire, of which Mr. Macpherson is now the owner, was bought in the following year: and he died there in May 1816 at the age of seventy-six. John, the younger brother of Allan, came out to India as an ensign in the 89th Highlanders, transferred to the Company's service in 1764, and went home at the beginning of April 1782. His health was broken and he died at Edinburgh in August, 1784.

These dates will serve as an indication of the momentous events in India, of which we may expect to find some record in this volume. Allan began his career in India in the Bengal European Regiment, which he seems to have joined on the day after the battle of Buxar. John as a Kings officer fought in that battle: and was severely wounded in the first assault on Chunar in December 1764. Monghyr was Allan's first station: and both he and John were among the officers who threw up their commissions in the Company's service on May 1, 1766, as a protest against the abolition of the double *batta*, or field allowance. Clive promptly sent them all to the Presidency under arrest. Sir Robert Fletcher, the ringleader was tried by court-martial and cashiered (only to be restored by the Court of Directors and cashiered again in Madras for taking part in the imprisonment of Lord Pigot): and, an example having been made, a general order of amnesty was issued.

In 1769 Allan was appointed aide-de-camp to Colonel Alexander Champion who appears to be identical with the captain or mate of the sloop *Chance* which took part in the defence of Calcutta against Siraj-ud-daula, with him he served through the first Rohilla war of 1774 and kept a detailed journal. In July 1775 he accompanied Lieut.-Col. John Upton on the mission to the Mahratta Government which culminated in the signing of the treaty of Purandhar in March 1776. The return to Bengal was made in eighty marches by way of Hyderabad, Rajahmundry, Cuttack and Balasore: and once more careful notes of the itinerary were made, which are of the utmost value. From 1777 to 1781, Allan commanded various battalions of Sepoys at Calcutta, Chunar, Cawnpore, and finally Jellalore "a nasty low wet situation" in the Midnapore district. His last six years were spent at

the Presidency as Quartermaster-General, and from January 1785 to September 1786 he was also private Secretary and Persian interpreter to John Macpherson (no relative) who succeeded Hastings as Governor-General.

Mr. W. C. Macpherson gives particulars of his ancestor's residences in Calcutta. He owned jointly with his cousin Captain John MacIntyre "the corner house opposite the New Church" (St. John's) which is perhaps to be identified with the premises now occupied by Messrs. R. Cambray and Co. at the corner of Hastings Street and Church Lane. In December 1786, John Macpherson, the Governor-General, was living there. He had also a garden house, of which the site has not been determined, and a bungalow at Barrackpore. His cousin, Capt. (afterwards Lieut.-General) John MacIntyre, who was also his son-in-law, had likewise two bungalows and 220 bighas of land at Barrackpore: which he sold to the Government for Rs. 25,000, and which are now represented by Barrackpore House and Park.

The history of the younger brother John Macpherson, was more commonplace. He received the surrender of the French factory at Patna in 1778, and marched with Major Camac's detachment from Calcutta to Dinapore, through Chota Nagpore, in January to June 1779 "to join the forces of General Goddard" against the Mahrattas. But the march was not continued beyond Dinapore and Major John Macpherson went on to Cawnpore, where he arrived in January 1780, meeting Sir Eyre Coote at Buxar on the way. His health was failing and he applied for a Major's pension, but as he had managed to save Rs. 52,000, "the Board say that he has more money than the requirements for a Major's pension allow." In February 1781 he was in command at Dinapore and sent a force to operate against Raja Fateh Sahai of Husaipur (the modern Hutwa) who evaded capture and died a religious mendicant. He was ordered back to Cawnpore in April 1781 "in the height of the hot weather" and upon his arrival there was sent on to Fatehgarh.

Here on August 26, 1781, "we received the account of the disaffection of Rajah Chit Sing at Banaras and the Danger the Governor-General [Hastings] was in of being cut off with all his attendants." A complete list is given of the distribution of the Company's troops at that time. Macpherson was left alone with his regiment at Cawnpore, to which place he was ordered to proceed in September, and was instructed to proceed to Lucknow "to protect the place." This meant a march of fifty-two miles, and he arrived "very much fatigued and in very bad health," only to expose his men to insults from "every dirty fellow in the town." Macpherson's view of Cheyt Singh's "revolution" is that "if the Raja had been able to keep his army together for twenty days longer, we should have found it no easy matter to save ourselves, for all the troops above Banaras was [sic] without money, stores, or Ammunition."

When matters were settled, John Macpherson left Lucknow and waited upon Hastings at Chunar with a request that he might be "fixed" with his regiment at Lucknow. Hastings declined: and Macpherson again sent in his resignation. On this occasion he was promoted to the rank of Lieut.-

Colonel by brevet "on condition that he immediately resign the service to avail himself of the pension, and that no officer senior to him on the Bengal establishment be ever superseded, or affected in his right, by this indulgence." He went home in the *Valentine* in April 1782, and among his fellow passengers was Mrs. Eliza Fay, the letter-writer and milliner who came back again and provided an "Auld Robin Gray" cap and "superfine white craps and white ribbons" for Mrs. Allan Macpherson when she made her own journey to Europe in the *Berrington* in January 1787. It may be mentioned that these formed a very minor part of Mrs. Macpherson's wardrobe: she has 65 pairs of stockings and 146 handkerchiefs stowed away in her cob drawers on board ship.

Among the papers preserved by Allan Macpherson are translations of the official and semi-official Persian correspondence of John Macpherson, of which he was the writer. On January 22, 1786, the Governor-General addresses the Nawab Wazir of Oudh on the subject of the European artists who are visiting Lucknow, and in particular Ozias Humphry. This letter is of interest, in view of the action which Humphry brought in the Supreme Court at Fort William against the Governor-General on his return, and in which he claimed payment of fees for painting certain pictures at Macpherson's request (as related in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1-19). Humphry lost his case: but there was evidently some substance in his claim: for after mentioning "Zoffany" and Charles Smith the letter proceeds:

There is another style of painting, that of drawing perfect likeness in small pictures, which is most agreeable, because the hand of friendship can always carry them as a remembrance. The most eminent gentleman in England in this line of painting is Mr. Homphrey, whom I have deputed to the Presence to bring me pictures of your Excellency, of the Shah Zudda, and of your son and your Ministers. He will show your Excellency a picture of me, and it is a true resemblance.

Not long afterwards, on March 23, 1786, Colonel Gabriel Harper, the Resident, had occasion to write to Allan Macpherson with regard to the difficulty of payment of the troops, and adds:

I know not what to do about Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Smith, the painters. If the Nabob should sit to be painted, the Lord knows when they will reap the advantage of their labours. If I was to wish my greatest enemy the most perplexing situation, I should for the present make him Governor-General's Agent at the Courts of the Shahzada and Vizier."

Neither Allan Macpherson, nor his brother John, were supporters of Hastings. They were in fact strong partisans of Clavering: and so were their great friends, the brothers Murray, John, Alexander, Peter, and Robert, who were in reality members of the proscribed clan of Macgregor. In a letter of December 4, 1781 to Miss Eliza Fraser, the lady who was subsequently Allan Macpherson's wife: Alexander Murray, who married John Macpherson's

widow, gives a most entertaining account of a dress worn by Mrs. Hastings the "Lady Governess." He declares that she "looked like an angel" but wore so many diamonds that "people who saw the dress are universally of opinion that it would not be worth less than from five and twenty to thirty thousand pounds sterling."

Journal of Francis Buchanan kept during the survey of the District of Shahabad in 1812-1813: edited with notes and introduction by C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I.
(Putna Government Press: Rupees Two and Annas Nine.)

After the conquest of Mysore, Lord Wellesley chose an assistant surgeon of the name of Francis Buchanan to carry out an investigation into the economic and historical features of the newly-acquired territory. The enquiries were made during the year 1800 and 1801, and their results were published in 1807. In January of that year (1807) the Court of Directors determined upon a "statistical survey" of what was then the Bengal Presidency: and Buchanan was designated as the officer to undertake the work. It was a formidable task which lay before him. He travelled alone: no previous accounts were available and no maps except Rennell's Bengal Atlas: he was obliged to devise his own methods for the collection and verification of the details required: and finally he wrote out in his own hand the twenty-five folio volumes of manuscript which contain his reports. The extent of ground which he covered in the course of five years was enormous. Beginning in the cold weather of 1807-1808 with the Assam Valley and the eastern districts of Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, part of Bogra, and Malda, he moved westward to Purnea, Bhagalpur, the Sonthal Pergunnahs, Monghyr, Patna, Gaya, and Shahabad, and concluded his labour with the survey of Gorakhpur in the season of 1813 and 1814.

His manuscript reports are at the India Office: and it is difficult to understand why the Court of Directors failed to publish them under his supervision, with the maps plans and sketches which he prepared. But the sin of commission was even more extraordinary than the sin of omission. In 1838, nine years after the death of Buchanan (who had taken the additional name of Hamilton) permission was given to Robert Montgomery Martin to browse at will among the manuscripts and to publish a "judicious selection" under his own name as "Martin's Eastern India."

Mr. Oldham, whose own knowledge of the Shahabad district is of the most intimate character, has reprinted for the first time the third volume of Buchanan's manuscript, and has added notes of the utmost interest and value and an admirable introduction. Numerous places, he says, were examined and described by this indefatigable traveller which collectors and sub-divisional officers have never had time to visit. In the course of 118 days, from the time of his departure from Patna on November 1, 1812, until his arrival at Chunar on February 26, 1813, Buchanan who was over fifty years of age at the time, covered a distance of some 820 miles, "which means that he travelled at the average rate, all halts included, of about seven miles a day."

As a rule he rode on an elephant or used a palanquin: but from several references it is evident that he went also on foot: and Mr. Oldham points out that he was actually on the road on 77 out of the 118 days.

Pictorial representations of some of the places visited are on record. Thomas Daniell and his nephew, William toured the district on their return from Garhwal in 1790: and their sketches will be found in *Oriental Scenery* and the *Oriental Annual*. By a happy chance, the fine oil-painting of the tomb of Sher Shah at Sasaram, which Thomas Daniell exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1810, has recently come to light and is now in the possession of the Maharaja of Burdwan. There is another sketch in the Travels of William Hodges: and a third picture by Colonel F. S. Ward at the India Office. But the earliest drawing was made by Peter Mundy in 1632: and in it the broken bridge across the tank is shown intact.

There is an interesting allusion on page 135 to Kuar Singh, whose name figures so prominently in the history of the year 1857. Buchanan met him on February 4, 1813, at his ancestral home of Jogodespur, which was blown up by Vincent Eyre: and describes him as "a thin lad," rather well looked but apparently poor though he had a good horse.

In addition to the notes and the introduction, Mr. Oldham has supplied nine appendices which deal with a variety of subjects, including the famous "Arrah House," which was originally built by William Augustus Brooke, the first Collector of Shahabad (1787 to 1794).

John Marshall in India: Notes and Observations in Bengal, 1668-1672: edited and arranged under subjects by Shafuat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D. (Oxford University Press: Twenty-one Shillings net.)

The subject-matter of this book is to be found in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. It is made up, firstly, of a diary which commences with the writer's appointment to the East India Company's service in January 1667-68 at the age of twenty-five. "I writ to my brother Ralph Marshall that I had a great desire to travell." As Ralph Marshall was steward to Lord Craven, whose "town" house in the City had been leased to the Company. Little difficulty was experienced in obtaining election as a factor. The outward voyage which is described in detail, was made by way of Madeira. Porto Prayo in the island of Santiago (the largest of the Cape Verde group), and Mauritius. On September 3, 1668, "the Island Zeilon" is sighted. "Laus Deo: An Account of some Parts of India and what remarkable therein taken by me J. M." is the heading of the entry. The *Unicorn* arrived in "Madraspattam Road" eight days later, and on September 12, Marshall went ashore "in a boat called a Mussoola." He notes on landing that those who wanted masters "came to us profering limes etca., the acceptance of which was sufficient for acceptance of their service." On September 17 he proceeded to Metchlepatam (Masulipatam): the journey by sea took him eight days. Descriptions are given of this place, of Madapollam, some forty miles away, which was the health-resort, of Verasharoone (Virasvaram), six miles further on "where the Company have an old and

decayed factory," and Pettipole (Nizampatnam) where the English had a monopoly of the saltpetre and where "the best chints and palampores are made." The voyage to Balasore Road occupied four days—from July 5 to 9: and from here on February 14, 1669-70 Marshall started to travel overland to Hooghly, which he reached on March 5. Each stage is indicated. The route lay by way of Midnapore and Johanabad (the modern Arambagh) which is on the old road from Midnapore to Burdwan. Hooghly in those days was "a very great Toone in which live very many Portugees": and the English and Dutch had each "a stately Factory" on the river bank. On March 28 Marshall set out by road for Patna where he remained until September when he returned to Hooghly. After residing at Cossimbazar for four years as "Second," he was appointed Chief at Balasore in December 1676 and died there on August 31, 1677.

The diary is followed by a number of observations on Indian subjects which cover a wide field and present many features of interest. They are fully annotated but not, it would seem, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad whose share in the production of the book is acknowledged by him to be very small. Even the introduction which he sent to the Indian Historical Records Commission in 1926 as an original paper, is not now claimed by him: for he admits that it is the work of Miss L. M. Anstey of the India Office.

Oude in 1857: by Colonel John Bonham, C.B. (Williams and Norgate: Five Shillings net.)

The interest of this little book lies in the fact that the author who is in his ninety-fourth year, is the last surviving officer of the Lucknow garrison. He joined the Bengal Artillery from Addiscombe in 1852, and in 1857 was in temporary command of a battery of Oudh Irregular Artillery at Secrora, an out-station which lies some sixty miles to the north-east of Lucknow. From this place he escaped, with the connivance of his men, and reached Lucknow in safety with three English sergeants and four sepoy of the battery. He was present at the disastrous action at Chinhut and served throughout the siege of the Residency. He was three times wounded and twice mentioned in despatches and received the medal with clasp and a brevet majority. In 1875 he retired with the rank of colonel: and thirty years later, when revisiting India, accompanied the present King and Queen round the Residency and related the story of the siege.

It is a matter for deep regret that the present volume contains no such recollections. Unhappily Colonel Bonham was attacked by a severe illness in 1917 and has not been able to complete his narrative which is confined to an account of the outbreaks in the different military stations in Oudh. A map of Oudh in 1857 is provided: it is reproduced in facsimile from the contemporary original of Hullmandel and Walton, lithographers to the War Department. The veteran himself is not presented to us, although a portrait would have been most welcome. We must be content with the sketch which is given in the first volume of Sir George Forrest's *History of the Sepoy Mutiny* (p. 310) of "Lieut. Bonham and Sergeant Bewsey" with the eight-inch

mortar which they mounted as a howitzer, and which went by the name of the "Ship."

List of Old Inscriptions in Christian Burial Grounds in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. (Rupees Five.)

This publication bears no imprint and discloses no editor's name. It has reached us from the Imperial Record Department: but we decline to believe that that office can be in any way responsible for it. Although the need for a list of monumental inscriptions in Bihar and Orissa has long been felt, this slipshod production will assuredly not fill the gap. There is no index: no effort has been made to secure consecutive pagination: biographical notes of historic personalities are conspicuous by their absence: and the most absurd and irrational variations in type are permitted. It is evident that the reports from each division have been separately printed as received and bound together without further examination.

Such casual methods might be forgiven, if the contents were in any sense complete, which they certainly are not. For example, there is no mention of the tombs in the Patna City cemetery in the opening section which purports to cover the Patna division. They have, it is true, been printed with full notes in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 54-68): but no reference is made to this fact, and the list, such as it is, is confined to five cemeteries in the Shahabad district and two in the Gaya district. The Arrah and Gaya inscriptions are printed in large type: the others in small type. Under the heading "Tirhut division," we find seven cemeteries in Champaran on a single page, divided into four columns. The inscriptions in the third of the three cemeteries in Muzaffarpur, (which is described as the second on the title page) are displayed, for some unexplained reason, in block letters. Half a page is given to the three cemeteries in the Darbhanga district. Saran is understood to provide four cemeteries: but the inscriptions are lumped together, and some are printed in block letters while others are not. The date (December 5, 1846) is omitted of the death of Eyles (mis-spelled Eyeles) Valentine Irwin, Collector of Tirhut, who is buried in the Daudpur cemetery at Muzaffarpur. We are not informed whether it has or has not disappeared: but in any case it can be, and should have been, supplied from other sources which are readily available. Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea; and five inscriptions from the Rajmahal cemetery, make up the Bhagalpur division. On page 23, we are asked to believe that a tomb in the Monghyr old cemetery bears the following remarkable inscription: "S.t.m.o. (which, being interpreted means, sacred to the memory of) John Petty Ward, Esq. of the Hon'ble Co.'s Civil Service and * * * * his wife, died 20th June, 1826." Mr. Ward who was the father of Sir William Erskine Ward, Chief Commissioner of Assam, retired from the Service in 1837 and died in 1869: while Mrs. Ward died in 1862. In other cases the full inscription is withheld: as a reference to the *Bengal: obituary* will show.

The Purnea list comes as a welcome relief: for trouble has been taken to examine the early English correspondence in the Collectorate (and also

Bengal: Past and Present) and not only are a number of names added which have disappeared from the tombs, but suitable notes are appended. Under Chota Nagpur, a full-page facsimile is given, we know not why, of the inscription on the tomb of David Chalmers (April 1, 1846). It is the solitary contribution from the Singhbhum cemetery: are there no other European graves at Chaibasa? The Cuttack inscriptions have, happily, been revised by the chaplain, Dr. Ridsdale, and can therefore lay claim to some degree of accuracy: but they have been set up in very small type. Puri, on the other hand, is favoured with a larger fount: whereby misprints such as "the Rev. Cacland" are pushed into undue prominence. In the case of Sambalpur, a letter from the Deputy Commissioner, which is without date, is printed in full. It contains some notes on the tombs which evince both interest and historical knowledge: and the list is presented in a rational fashion which might well have served as a model for the remainder. Among those buried here is a grandson of Sir Elijah Impey Major Hastings Broughton Impey, of the Bengal Staff Corps, who was the third son of Edward Impey (1785-1858), of the Bengal Civil Service, and Julie de l'Etang. He was the first Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur and died on December 14, 1863: his wife, who is buried besides him, died three days before him.

The Balasore inscriptions, which bring the Orissa division to an end, are mostly printed in block letters, but the distinction is conferred haphazard and is denied to the oldest which dates back to 1684. The fourth tomb in the list is stated to bear "no inscriptions." It adjoins the third, which is that of the wife of E. E. Repton, C.S. (strangely transcribed as Raepton), who died on October 30, 1836, it is probably the grave of their infant son, Henry Baber Hewitt Repton, who died on January 26, 1836. This fact could have been ascertained from the *Bengal Obituary*: but no attempt seems to have been made to consult this or any other work of reference. It is to be observed also that the year of the death of Major W. S. Parr of H. M. 22nd Regiment, who is buried in this cemetery, is given as "103." Of what value is such an entry?

If the Government of Bihar and Orissa have had any hand in this compilation, they will be well advised to withdraw it and to entrust the preparation of a reliable list of inscriptions to some competent person who will, if necessary, visit the cemeteries himself.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society: Vol. I, No. I, March 1928. (Bombay, Exchange Building, Sprott Road: Rupees Two.)

The Bombay Historical Society, which was founded on April 25, 1925, is to be congratulated upon the excellence of the first number of its Journal. A hundred and twenty pages of readable and instructive matter are provided for the modest sum of two rupees. The Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., who is the President of the Society, contributes an article on "The Decay of the Portuguese Power in India," in which he combats the suggestion that it was due to Jesuit policy. Mr. Braz A. Fernandes the Editor writes on Sopara, the ancient port of the Konkan, and now an insignificant town three and a half

miles north-west from Bassein Road railway station, which he identifies with Solomon's Ophir. Dr. Balkrishna calls attention to the ample materials which exist in Bombay for the study of the economic history of India. Among the "queries" which are answered, attention may be drawn to an account of Dona Juliana Dias da Costa, of whose remarkable career at the Mogul Court a summary was given recently in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIV, pp. 78-81): and Valentijn's portrait, which is evidently taken from an Indian painting, is reproduced.

"*The Dawn of New India.*" By Brajendranath Banerji. (N. C. Sarkar & Sons.)

This is the title of a small book published recently by Mr. B. N. Banerji who is well known to readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*. It consists of three studies, *viz.*, the Sannyasi rebellion in Bengal, Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchannan, and the College of Fort William.

Of these, the greater portion of the available space is devoted to the Sannyasis. Students of revenue and other records will come across frequent reference to these marauding gangs which infested Bengal in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They were a constant source of anxiety to the Company's officers in the mofussil, and the terror of the countryside. They consisted of a semi-religious organisation, not unknown in India, as Mr. Banerji shows, who adopted highway robbery as a profession. Mr. Banerji is full of admiration for the methods by which Warren Hastings suppressed this evil, and from this successful piece of administration he derives the title of his work. The remaining two chapters are a short sketch of the famous pandit who did the bulk of the work of compiling the Digest of Hindu Law, translated by Colebrooke, and the College established by Lord Wellesley, the famous Governor-General to train the cadets who came into the Company's Service. Wellesley was the first Englishman of distinction to recognise the necessity of creating an administrative *corps d'elite*, who should be taught to regard themselves as public servants, and trustees for the Company's poorer subjects. It is not impossible to trace the whole development of the present administrative system of the British Empire to this act of Lord Wellesley's.

The work is done in that careful, accurate and scholarly fashion which his readers associate with the writings of Mr. Banerji: but the reader is left regretting that these valuable studies should be issued in such a brief form and in so curtailed a way. The book is too small for a library, yet it contains information not easily obtained elsewhere. We suggest to Mr. Banerji that he should gather up his studies in Indian History into one volume, and place them before the public in a dress better suited to their admirable contents.

"*A Short History of the Bengal Club, 1827-1927.*" By H. R. Panckridge.
(Published for private circulation.)

The members of this distinguished Club were fortunate to find among themselves a historian of Mr. Panckridge's type. He has written an ideal

history of a Club; witty, informing, interesting and valuable as a record of social life: its only fault is that it is too short. The eye of imagination sees the shades of former members perusing with frequent chuckles this account of their earthly resort: Some, no doubt, under the cooling breezes of heavenly punkahs, others in circumstances more nearly approaching the hot weather of their recollections, but all alike forgetting their surroundings in the charm of the narrative. The Bengal Club appears to be the premier Club in India from the point of view of age: it was founded in 1827, about the time that its equally famous contemporaries, the Athenæum, the Oriental, the Oxford and Cambridge, and the Garrick Clubs were beginning to adorn social life in England.

The first patron of the Club was General Sir Stapleton Cotton, Bart., who had seen much service in India and in the Peninsula. In 1825 he was Commander-in-Chief in India which country he left for good in 1830; this fact is interesting to readers of *Bengal: Past and Present* in particular, for Sir Stapleton Cotton, afterwards Lord Combermere, was a member of the same family to which this Journal owes so much. He was succeeded by even more distinguished men: Metcalfe, Outram, Bentinck, John Peter Grant, names which would adorn any community, while among the list of members the name of Macaulay may almost certainly be reckoned (cf. p. 23). The Club passed through its share of anxieties in the financial crises that marked the closing years of the Company's régime, and lost the whole of its deposit of Rs. 40,000 when the Club Treasurers, Messrs. Mackintosh and Co. failed. "This awful warning," says Mr. Panckridge, "attending the possession of credit balance has not been disregarded, and there appears no likelihood that the Club will ever again find itself in a similar predicament." Macaulay pointed out, in writing of this gloomy period, that there was a beneficial side: the mode of living in Calcutta became much less extravagant and more moderate: the ostentatious display of earlier days had gone for ever.

The Bengal Club has had several houses before its present palatial home. It originally started in Esplanade East, in a block known as Gordon's buildings: from there it migrated to Tank Square, which afterwards was known as Dalhousie Square. After the removal of the Club to Chowringhee, they occupied the house in which Macaulay had made his home from 1834 to 1838. In 1907 the Club purchased the freehold of this property, in addition to certain adjoining property, and built its present house which was formally opened in November 1911.

After the Crown assumed the Government of India, the Club seems to have become closely associated with the High Court: its earlier patrons and presidents had been distinguished soldiers: *arma cedant togæ*, however, and between 1858 and the present day, the majority of the Club's presidents have been closely associated with the Law.

Like other British Communities, the Bengal Club took its share in the Great War: its list of members contains the only living man who has twice won the Victoria Cross, and many members gave their lives for their country.

In 1927 the Club celebrated its hundredth birthday, and it remains a vigorous and prosperous monument of the manners and customs of the British, both in their own and a foreign country. Those who cross its hospitable threshold feel, *mutatis mutandis*, that they are again in the home atmosphere. Long may the Club prosper, and continue to record among its members so many names who have worked untiringly both for the benefit of England and India, and when its second centenary comes around, may it find an equally graceful and able historian as Mr. Panckridge.

One fault remains to be recorded, *miserabile dictu* the book is got up in a fashion very unworthy of its contents; the Committee should have paid the author his due in seeing that a less "kacha" binding disfigured his book.

The Editor's Note Book.

TWO hitherto unrecorded pictures by Thomas Daniell have been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan. They are of the same dimensions—17 inches by 24 inches—and are signed and dated "Thomas Daniell 1810." The subject of the first is a Mohurrum procession on the banks of a river. The other represents the Durga Puja: worshippers are shown at a ghat lifting the image into a boat prior to immersion in the Ganges. The figures are exquisitely painted: and the pictures will be a notable acquisition to the fine specimens of Daniell's work which are already at the Memorial Hall. They were painted in the first instance for Mr. Charles Hampden Turner (1772-1856) of Rooksnest near Godstone in Surrey, a well-known bibliophile and patron of the arts, whose family still own his fine collection of miniatures and drawings by Ozias Humphry. He was a partner in the cable-manufacturing firm of Huddart and Co., and owner or part owner of several Indiamen. No less than thirty-one oil-paintings by Thomas or William Daniell were commissioned or bought by him: but their existence was not known until they were sold by auction in January last by order of his great-grandson.

TWENTY-ONE of these pictures were bought by the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur, and he is now the owner of one of the largest collections of Indian paintings by the Daniells outside the Victoria Memorial Hall. The "Juggernaut Car," a picture painted by Thomas Daniell in 1809 and similar in size to the two at the Victoria Memorial Hall, has been presented to Sir Evan Cotton, and "The Nautch" (1810), of equal dimensions, to another friend. Seventeen are thus retained by the Maharaja who has hung them in his London house. The second largest of these a Chinese river scene, 48 inches by 72 inches, is attested on the back of the frame as the work of "William Daniell, A.R.A., 9, Cleveland Street, Fitzroy Square," and must therefore have been painted before 1822, which was the year in which he became a full Academician. The other seventeen are by Thomas Daniell and with the exception of four, are all signed and date. The most ambitious is a large view, painted in 1818, of the "Falls of Puppenassum in the Tinnevely district," of which the dimensions are 54 inches by 72 inches. The most attractive are, perhaps, a pair—38 inches by 52 inches—of which the subject of one is the Jumma Masjid at Delhi (1811) with a carriage drawn by oxen in the foreground; the other, which represents the tomb of Sher Shah at Sasseram, was

exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1812, the year in which it was painted. Another Academy picture of the same year (30 inches by 41 inches) is "A Scene near Nujibabad in Rohilkund: the Sewalic snowy mountains appearing in the distance: an Indian on an elephant is endeavouring to cross a small bridge which the elephant refuses until he has examined its strength with his trunk." The central topic in another (20 inches by 27 inches) which was painted also in 1812, is supplied by one of the *Kos Minars*, some twenty feet in height, which line the road between Fatehpur Sikri and Agra. A picture of a state barge—25 inches by 30 inches—which was painted in 1813—is remarkable by reason of the horse-prow. "The Hot Well at Seetacoond" (1800)—17 inches by 24 inches—is another pleasing composition: and "The village Schoolmaster" (1812)—29 inches by 40 inches—deserves mention, if only for the unusual fact that it is so described on the back of the canvas.

AN interesting history attaches likewise to the ten paintings by Thomas and William Daniell which Mrs. George Lyell has intimated her intention of bequeathing to the Victoria Memorial Hall, and of which an account was very recently given in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIV, p. 65). These pictures were once the property of George Nesbitt Thompson, the private secretary and lifelong friend of Warren Hastings: and were purchased in 1908 or 1909 by the late Mr. George Lyell from Colonel Cecil du Pré Powney, of Brambridge Hall, Winchester. Colonel Powney's father Edward Penton Thompson (1803-1890) who assumed the surname of Powney in 1876 upon succeeding to the estates of his uncle, the Rev. Henry Powney, was one of the sons of George Nesbitt Thompson and a member of the Madras Civil Service from 1822 to 1852.

IT is common knowledge that the present Bengal Club house in Chowringhee stands on the site of the Calcutta residence of Macaulay: and the fact is duly commemorated by a mural tablet. Macaulay, however, was merely the occupier. When the club moved into the house in 1845 it belonged to Baboo Kali Prasanna Singh: and Colonel Walter Plowden in his "Records of the Chichele Plowdens" states that another of its owners was Frances Lina Erskine, the wife of Trevor Plowden the First (1784-1836) whom she married in 1808. Her second husband was Henry Meredyth Parker (1796-1868) another civilian and author of *Bole Ponjis*: and when he left India in 1842, she remained behind and died in Calcutta on March 28, 1848. She was not only the great-grandmother of Lady Lytton, but one of her daughters was married in 1835 to John Peter Grant the second, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1859 to 1862, and two of their children married Sir James Colville, the Chief Justice, and Sir Richard Strachey. Lady Grant died in 1896 at the age of seventy-nine and her brother Trevor Plowden the Second died in

"Mrs. Plowden's House in Chowringhee."

1899, shortly before his ninetieth birthday. There is a monument in St. John's Church to Trevor Plowden the First, who served the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in 1827 and died at the Cape on his way to Europe.

THE lot of a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General was an enviable one when Macaulay accepted the post in 1833. He writes ^{Macaulay on his Indian Appointment.} to his sister Hannah, who accompanied him to Calcutta and there married Sir Charles Trevelyan, then a junior civilian, at St. James's Church in the Lower Circular Road:

The advantages are very great. It is a post of the highest dignity and consideration. The salary is ten thousand pounds a year. I am assured by persons who know Calcutta intimately, and who have themselves mixed in the highest circles and held the highest offices at the Presidency, that I may live in splendour there for five thousand a year and may save the rest of my salary with accruing interest. I may, therefore, hope to return to England at only thirty-nine, in the full vigour of life, with a fortune of thirty thousand pounds. A larger fortune I never desired.

THE reality proved to be even more satisfactory than the expectation, for it so happened that careful living had become a necessity when ^{The Commercial Crisis of the Thirties.} Macaulay actually reached Calcutta in October 1834. In 1836 we find him writing:

That tremendous crash of the great commercial houses, which took place a few years ago, has produced a revolution in fashions. It ruined one half of the English society in Bengal and seriously injured the other half. A large proportion of the most important functionaries here are deeply in debt and, accordingly, the mode of living is now exceedingly quiet and modest. Those immense subscriptions, those public tables, those costly entertainments and equipages of which Heber and others who saw Calcutta a few years back, say so much, are never heard of. Speaking for myself it was a great piece of good fortune that I came hither just at the time when the general distress had forced everybody to adopt a moderate way of living.

CAREY, in his "Good old Days of Hon'ble John Company" gives the following remarkable figures. Palmer and Co. failed in 1830 for ^{Seventeen millions among five Firms.} five million sterling: Alexander and Co. in 1832 for £3,440,000: Mackintosh and Co. in 1833 for £2,700,000, and Colvin and Co., in the same year for £1,120,000: Fergusson and Co., also in the same year, for £3,562,000: and Cruttenden and Co. in 1834 for £1,350,000. The total reaches the amazing sum of £17,172,000.

THACKERAY in *Vanity Fair* (Vol. II, Chapter 25) has a characteristic reference to this commercial cataclysm, in which he had reason to be specially interested, for his mother and his stepfather

The House of "Fogle, Fake, and Cracksman." Colonel Carmichael Smyth, afterwards Superintendent of the East India Military College at Addiscombe, were among the sufferers.

Mr. Scape is lately admitted partner into the great Calcutta house of Fogle, Fake, and Cracksman, taking Fake's place who retired to a princely park in Sussex—the Foggles have long been out of the business and Sir Horace Fogle is about to be raised to the peerage as Baron Bandanna—two years before it failed for a million and plunged half the Indian public into misery and ruin.

IN her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque" Fanny Parks makes several allusions to the same matter. In January 1830 she writes: "The failure of Messrs. Palmer and Co. early in this month caused the greatest consternation in India and fell most severely on the widows and orphans of military men who having left their little portions in Palmer's house had returned to England." On January 11, 1833, being then at Allahabad, she notes:

The talk in the bazar is of the failure of Messrs. Mackintosh and Co. at Calcutta: they always get the first intelligence. An officer who got the lakh, and 60,000 rupees also, in the lottery last year, passed down the river to-day to place it in Government security: it is all gone: a note has been despatched to inform him of the failure and save him a useless trip of eight hundred miles: he lost twenty-five thousand only a few weeks ago by Messrs. Alexander's failure.

AGAIN, on May 1, 1833, there is the following entry: "Notice was given in the Supreme Court that Messrs. Gould and Campbell would pay a dividend at the rate of nine gundahs, one cowrie, one cawg, and eighteen teel, in every sicca rupee, on and after the first of June: a curious dividend—not quite one farthing in the rupee!" According to a footnote in *Hobson-Jobson* (s. v. cowrie), a "cawg" was equivalent to a quarter of a cowrie and a *til* (sesamum-seed) to one-eightieth of a cowrie. The table would therefore run: twenty *til* equal one *kâg*, four *kâg* equal one cowrie, four cowries equal one *ganda*. One rupee is consequently the equivalent of four hundred thousand *til*."

FANNY PARKS was the daughter of Major E. C. Archer, aide-de-camp to Lord Combermere: and married Charles Crawford Parks of the Bengal Civil Service, with whom she went out to India in 1823. Parks was at first stationed in Calcutta as an assistant collector in the office of Sea Customs. In 1826 he was posted to Allahabad

as officiating collector of Government Customs: and was transferred to Cawnpore as deputy collector in 1830, returning to Allahabad in 1832. They came to England in 1839, and were back in India in 1844, but only for a short time, for they sailed from Calcutta on August 29, 1845. Her book is scarce, but it is quite one of the best of its kind. Parks first came out as a writer in 1817 and died on August 22, 1854, eight years after his retirement in 1846.

IN another entry made at Calcutta of June 1, 1823, Fanny Parks expresses her preference for sail as against steam as a method of conveyance. Steam versus Sail in 1823. "There is much talk here" she writes, "of a passage to India by steam. 'Coelum ipsum petimus stultitia,' which means 'On veut prendre la lune par les cornes.' Heaven forefend that I should find myself in a steam boat in a fine rolling sea and a brisk gale off the Cape. I should not hesitate to give the preference to the 1200 ton ship. Some of the old rich Indians, as they are called at home, will have full opportunity to try its safety before my time is come. We have however, established a steam boat on the Hoogly, which goes about four knots against tide: something prodigious in a river where the tide runs "like lightning and with tremendous force." The "steam boat on the Hoogly" was the *Diana* of 89 tons: she was built at Kidderpore in 1823 and dismantled in 1836. In October 1823 we find mention in *John Bull*, the ancestor of the *Englishman*, of this vessel, which picks up passengers at Culpee at ten o'clock in the morning and "reaches town" at five o'clock on the afternoon of the same day. "Ordinary boats, with sufficient accommodation for ladies, would have taken from five days to a week to perform what the *Diana* has done in seven hours."

MRS. PARKS had left Calcutta and was up-country with her husband when the steam vessel *Enterprise* of 500 tons arrived in the Hooghly on December 10, 1825, after a voyage round the Cape from Falmouth of 115 days, "during which time she met with some severe weather" and "used sail instead of steam pretty often." The merchants of Calcutta had in 1824 offered to present a lakh of rupees to the first steamer which should make the passage from England to India: and the prize was won by the *Enterprise*. In April 1827 she was at Madras, and Sir Thomas Munro and "a vast crowd of all classes assembled at the Beach to see her manoeuvre for the gratification of the public." Her commander, Captain James Henry Johnson, had fought at Trafalgar. He subsequently became Controller of the steam department of the East India Company, and died at sea off the Cape on May 5, 1851. There is a tablet to his memory in St. Stephen's Church, Kidderpore.

AFTER the arrival of the *Enterprise* events moved with a rapidity which must have disconcerted Mrs. Fanny Parks. In 1829, the *Hugh Lindsay* of 411 tons was launched at Bombay. She was the first steamship to be built there: and under the command of Captain John H. Wilson, of the Indian Marine, she left Bombay Harbour on March 20, 1830 and made the first voyage to Suez. On December 5, 1830, she made the voyage again, and with Sir John Malcolm on board. When Wilson retired in 1838, his voyages from Bombay to Suez numbered seven. Before his death in 1875, he had the satisfaction of hearing that the first P. and O. boat from Bombay had passed through the Suez Canal: this was the *Nubia*, Capt. Wilkinson, which left Bombay about March 9, 1870. In 1843, while Fanny Parks was still in India, a P. and O. steamer made the voyage from Suez to Calcutta.

A GRAPHIC account of the voyage to Europe in the forties (when refrigerators were still unknown) is given in the "Recollections of India" of Henry Moses, a book published in London in 1850 (p. 38):

The voyage to Europe in the Forties.

When we were within a few day's sail of India we were rudely summoned by the commander of the *Sesostris* steamer frigate to heave to and bear tidings to the great men of Bombay that she had been out six days in a hurricane but had weathered the gale and was now going safely with her passengers and mail bags to Aden. As we were obliged to haul in pretty close and were out of compliment obliged to take in our stern-sails, I had an opportunity of seeing this beautiful vessel, the property of the Honourable East India Company. Her quarter deck was crowded by a strange collection of dark and white faces of every caste and colour: and under the cabin-windows might be seen—what a tempting sight to us who had been so long at sea!—nets filled with all sorts of vegetables, fruit, fresh meat, and other good things necessary for the voyage. Away went the *Sesostris* rolling, pitching and smoking over the mountain waves which the late storm had raised up.

"Two days after this encounter we were safely riding at anchor opposite the Fort of Bombay." The sailing-ship had taken just three months and a half to make the voyage round the Cape.

THREE years before the launch of the *Hugh Lindsay*, an adventurous lady, Mrs. Elwood, made the journey overland to Suez and thence down the Red Sea to Bombay under much less pleasant conditions than the passengers in the *Sesostris*. She arrived in Bombay on July 29, 1826, with her husband, Colonel Elwood. In spite of the monsoon, she had come from Kosseir to Jiddah in an Arab *dhow*, "probably differing but little from the ships built by King Solomon 992 years before

Adventurous Ladies.

Christ, 'in Ezionzeber which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea.' " There were three hundred Hajjis on board, and the deck was so crowded that she had to get into her cabin by a ladder suspended from the window. The journey to Jiddah took ten days, and here she found Sir Hudson Lowe, of St. Helena renown, residing in the mansion of Hoseyn Aga, the agent for the East India Company. With him she embarked on the *George Guttenden*, an Indian-owned ship of 300 tons, manned entirely by a crew of twenty-five lascars and commanded by a Muhammadan *nakoda*. From Jiddah to Bombay the voyage occupied twenty-three days. Eight days were spent at Hodeida, and a week at Mocha, where there was an English Resident and a Surgeon. Although Mrs. Elwood was the first English lady to make the outward journey, Lady Nightingall, the wife of Sir Miles Nightingall, Commander-in-chief at Bombay from 1816 to 1819, had gone home by that route in 1819. Mr. Elwood's *Narrative*, which is written in the form of letters to her sister, was published in two volumes in 1830. During her stay at Cairo (which she reached on April 23, 1826, from Alexandria in a *cangia* "swarming with flies and fleas") she frequently met "Mr. Galloway, a civil engineer, a clever young man, in high favour with the Pasha," Mahamat Ali, who was employing him in lighting his palace with gas. He was "exceedingly sanguine about the overland passage to India, which he demonstrated to be perfectly feasible." His plan was to have steam-packets from Alexandria to Cairo, which were to communicate with those at Suez "by means of the ancient canal, which might easily be reopened."

ANOTHER remarkable individual whom Mrs. Edward met in Egypt was Osman Effendi, the dragoman of Henry Salt, the British Consul at Alexandria, who had accompanied Lord Valentia on his travels in India, and whose sketches illustrate the three volumes published in 1807. This man was an Englishman, William Thompson, who had been taken prisoner by the Arabs in 1805 and sold as a slave. He became a Mussulman and was released from captivity at Jeddah by John Lewis Burckhardt in 1815. Burckhardt also relates in his *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* (London 1830: p. 351) how one Thomas Keith, a young Scotsman of about twenty years of age and a native of Edinburgh, was taken prisoner, with many others of his regiment, when serving as a gunsmith with the 72nd Highlanders, during the disastrous campaign in Egypt under General Frazer which ended in the evacuation of Alexandria in September 1807. He too professed Islam under the name of Ibrahim Aga, and was purchased from his captor by Ahmed Aga, the "treasurer or Khaznedar" of Mahomed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who was nicknamed Bonaparte. Having killed a Sicilian Mameluke in a quarrel, he sought the protection of Mahomed Ali's lady who persuaded her son Tousoun Bey, to employ him in his service. Tousoun, in a fit of ill-humour, ordered him to be put to death for some trifling offence: whereupon, after defending the door of his room for half an hour,

he threw himself out of the window and escaped once more to his protectress. He was restored to favour and made chief of the Mamelukes by Tousoun, and also treasurer "the second post in rank at the court of a pasha." After fighting bravely at the recapture of Medina from the Wahabis in 1812, he was appointed governor of that place in 1815. Two months later, while hastening to the assistance of Tousoun Bey, who was encamped "in the province of Kasym," he was overtaken by a superior number of Wahabis and after killing four of them with his own hand, shared the fate of his troops, who were all destroyed.

IN the thirteenth and last volume of his "English Factories in India" Sir William Foster introduces us to an interesting adventurer of an earlier period, Colonel Richard Palmer, whose arrival at "Spawhawne" (Ispahan) in 1670 is reported in the correspondence with the Company of Thomas Rolt who was their "chief" in Persia. Palmer had fought in the King's army during the struggle with the Parliament and after spending two years at Bruges, his "lot thereafter fell to goe to Russia where he hath served the Emperor severall years in considerable commands." Abbas the Shah of Persia having "requested a Fringgee officer to disipline his people in the military art," Palmer was sent from Moscow, in the company of Thomas Bryan, "an English merchant that had long lived in Russia" and was now appointed "envoy extraordinary" by the Duke of Muscovy. Bryan died "with the greatest part of his retinue" before the mission reached Ispahan, and, the death of Abbas also occurring. Palmer discovered that his prospects of employment depended upon his "turning Moore." He therefore applied for permission to enter the company's military service and arrived at Surat on January 6, 1671. But on December 21, 1672, the President and Council report that "he was soon taken from us" and "his two sons serve as soldiers in your garrison and are hopefull youths."

MENTION is made of yet another soldier of fortune in the *Calcutta Government Gazette* for October 28, 1819. On October 15, there died at Serampore at the age of sixty Colonel Johan Friedrich Meiselbach. In the course of a lengthy obituary notice it is recorded that he arrived in Bengal "when very young" and "engaged in the service of Rajah Himmat Bahadur of Bundelcund," the "Gossain" chief. "For a period of more than eighteen years he showed himself an active and successful officer, distinguishing himself on various occasions in the field and as a reward for his gallant services the munificent prince who had profited by his exertions raised him to the rank of a colonel and placed him at the head of six thousand men." There he trained according to the principles of European warfare. "In the year 1803 or 4 when a general war broke out in India, a British force, having crossed the Jumna, was joined by the troops of the Rajah and the Colonel, and this combined army defeated Nabob Shumshare a powerful Mahratta chief who had declared himself

hostile to the British power." After the death of Himmat Bahadur, Meiselbach was taken into the company's service: but some three or four years later his brigade was ordered to be reduced and he retired on a pension of Rs. 1,000 a month. "His funeral was of a most imposing character:"

The Danish flag was hoisted half mast high, the sepoy's of the settlement were paraded at his door, and throngs of Europeans and Indians from all quarters of the town, preceded by the Danish authorities accompanied the body across the river to Barrackpore where it was received by a battalion of Sepoys with their commander at their head, and consigned to the tomb with all military honours.

He left a widow and ten children. Six of his daughters were married to officers in the Bengal Army.

AMONG a number of sketches by James Wales, which are now the property of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E. is one of a "Mr. Seton in Moor-
"Mr. Seton of man's dress" whose long beard gives him an uncanny Touch." resemblance to the Abbé Dubois. There can be little doubt that the individual represented is the "Mr. Roberts, the traveller, a gentleman well-known in this settlement" whose death at "Grand Cairo" is announced in the *Bombay Courier* of October 3, 1795. He died in the house of Mr. Baldwin the British consul at Alexandria, shortly after the arrival on June 10, 1795, of Dr. Hugh Cleghorn (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 132). Cleghorn tells us that he had been confined in irons at Jeddah, although more than eighty years of age, and that although he went by the name of Major Roberts, he was "Mr. Seton of Touch in Stirlingshire whom a strange caprice had at his age carried without ostensible object to India and who traversed a great part of that continent in the dress of a Moorman, always concealing his real name from his countrymen." There is another reference to him in Major David Price's *Memoirs of a Field officer* (London, 1839: p. 281). Price was at Poona in October 1791 on the staff of Sir Charles Malet, the British Resident, and Walls, who died at Salsette on November 13, 1795, and whose daughter Susan married Malet, was there at the same time. The entry in Price's journal is as follows: "An old and respectable North Briton whose real name was Seton though he choose to travel under the name of Roberts and in the guise of a Mahomedan had recently visited the fall of Gutpoorbah near Gohkawk: the height of which he stated at 170 feet."

SIR WILLIAM FOSTER writes: in the first volume of his *British Government in India* (p. 224), the late Lord Curzon, in describing the fêtes and

A Calcutta Ball-room Device. balls given at Government House in the time of Lord Auckland (1836-1842) refers to "a device adopted on these occasions that seems to have been peculiar to India." The ball-room floor "had depicted upon it in coloured chalks either the arms of the illustrious individual whom it was desired to honour," or the arms of the Queen,

the Governor-General, and the Company. "Presumably these pictures were soon effaced by the assiduous soles of the dancers." The suggestion that this common practice was "peculiar to India" is incorrect. It was an English custom that had been transplanted, and Wordsworth alludes to it in his Sonnet on "Personal Talk":

These all wear out of me, like forms with chalk
Painted for a rich man's floor for one feast night.

A SUGGESTION as to the origin of the term "batman" appeared in the *Sunday Times* of January 1, in the form of a letter from a "Madras" at Bangalore. In the early days of the old Coast Army (he writes) every company had a "pattern man," who served as the model for correctness in details of dress. These "pattern men" were taken as orderlies by the British officers: and "patter men," as the sepoys called them, came by an easy transition to be "batman." When "pattern men" were abolished as such, they continued in their secondary capacity of soldier servants, and the term "batman" survived as a generic appellation.

MR. G. N. BOWER has sent us the following letter on the subject of the note on the "Elephant" gales, which was published in the *issue of Bengal: Past and Present* for July-September 1927 (Vol. XXXIV, p. 66).

The "Elephant" Gales.

An "elephanta" is a local storm which blows across Bombay Harbour, usually in the evenings, at the end of the monsoon, and is so called because it appears to have its origin in the direction of Elephant Island which is on the east side of the harbour. The word "Elephanta" is correctly given in three of the quotations cited by you.

The explanation which is not to be found in *Hobson-Jobson* is both interesting and plausible: and we have discovered another instance of the use of the word "Elephanta" in the Narrative of Mrs. Elwood, to which reference is made in another note. Mrs. Elwood writes (Voi. II, p. 105):

Quite at the conclusion of the rainy monsoon, another storm takes place which at Bombay is called the "Elephanta," and which effectually clears the atmosphere.

But this may be merely a Bombay adaptation. A reference to our previous note will show that it does not tally with other examples of the use of the word.

WE have identified the print of the India House which was reproduced in our last number (p. 91). It will be found in colours as the sixteenth plate in the third volume of Ackermann's *Repository of Art* (March, 1810, p. 184): and it was also published separately in black and white without an imprint. The original water-colour drawing,

The Old India House.

which was made in 1809 by T. Hosmer Shepherd, is in the Crace collection of prints and drawings of London at the British Museum.

A REVIEW will be found upon another page of the reminiscences of "Oude in 1857" of Colonel John Bonham, C.B., the Father of the Indian army.

The publication of the book has been simply followed by the announcement of the author's death at his house in Ireland on May 18, in his ninety-fourth year. The record of his experiences during the siege of the Lucknow Presidency must therefore remain unwritten. That his memory was fresh and vivid is well known to those who heard him relate the story to the present King and Queen on the occasion of their visit to Lucknow in 1905, when he headed the small band of veterans who were then surviving. The heroic efforts made by him at the battle of Chinhut to save his howitzer would, says Colonel Malleson, in his History, have assuredly gained for him the Victoria Cross, if Sir Henry Lawrence had lived. But by a strange coincidence, it was a shell from that very howitzer which mortally wounded Lawrence. Bonham received the C. B. in 1906, after the lapse of nearly half a century. There are now, it is believed, no surviving officers of the garrison of the Residency: we will have with us several of the "Lucknow children." Our Bengal representative, Mr. R. H. Anderson who retired from the Civil Service in 1902, and is still hale and hearty, was a child of two years and a half at the time of the siege. Another civilian survivor is Mr. W. T. Wells who was one of the Judicial Commissioners in Oudh when he retired in 1906.

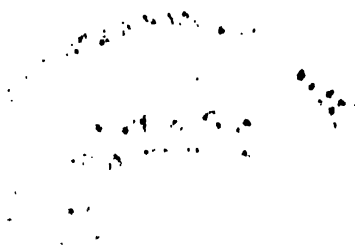
THREE days later another link with the past was snapped by the death at Camberley on May 21, at the age of ninety, of Sir Philip Hutchins, K.C.S.I., the last of the "Haileybury men" and civil servants of the East India Company. From 1858 to 1888 he served in Madras where he became a Judge of the High Court and was for the last two years a member of the Executive Council at Fort Saint George. His spare figure and perennially youthful countenance were familiar to residents in Calcutta from 1888 to 1893, when he was Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Next came a period of fourteen years at the India office, first as Secretary in the Judicial and Public Department and then, from 1898 to 1908, as a member of the Secretary of State's Council. His public service therefore extended over half a century: he drew his pension for another twenty years, and had he lived until May 26, he would have celebrated the sixty-eighth anniversary of his wedding-day. A record must surely lurk in one of these achievements. He was a great athlete: and in 1863 brought a cricket eleven up to Calcutta from Madras.

This interesting note from its distinguished writer was received through the Courtesy of Sir William Foster. The reference is to the article by the Revd. Father Hosten in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 68, pp. 97—105.

A NOTE ON THE REV. H. S. HOSTEN'S
"AKBAR'S QUEEN MARY."

THE Sikandra Orphanage was founded in 1838, when a large number of famine orphans, rescued by the British chaplains and residents of Agra during the famine of that year, were handed over to the care of the C.M.S. missionaries. They became the special charge of the Rev. C. T. Hoernle—one of four Basle missionaries, expelled from North-western Persia by the Russians on their conquest, who had made their way to India. For the accommodation of these orphans, says Dr. Stock in his *History of the Church Missionary Society* (Vol. I, p. 313), "the Government gave the Society the tomb of Miriam Zamani (the traditional Christian wife of Akbar, the great Mogul Emperor), just opposite Akbar's own grand mausoleum at Secundra, six miles from Agra." This would seem to carry back the tradition, and the name, to the C.M.S. records of 1838. In 1851 my uncle, the Rev. T. V. French, afterwards first Bishop of Lahore, visiting Sikandra shortly after his arrival in Agra, writes of the community into which the orphanage had expanded:—"They have a neat church and school and parsonage houses, and an imposing building close by—once, I believe, an Empress's tomb, but now converted into a printing press on a great scale." (Life, I, p. 31.) It would appear that at this date, as now, there was no inscription in the mausoleum, for a man of French's antiquarian proclivities could hardly have failed to remark upon it, even if he was as yet unable to decipher the wording.

SYDNEY C. GRIER.



905/B1



1503

LUXMINARAYAN BOOK BINDING HOUSE
9, D S P. S.
CALCUTTA-33.